

KHALJI SULTANS IN RAJASTHAN



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*In the sacred memory of the heroes of
Rajasthan who laid down their
lives for the glory of
the nation.*

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PREFACE

This monograph deals with the political relations of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi with the rulers of Rajasthan. Though described, even at some length by Dr K. S. Lal, Dr D. Sharma and others detailed history of the Khalji Sultans' invasions and occupation of Rajasthan has been rather overdue. In fact the struggle of the Rajput kingdoms for a little more than two decades against the Khalji Sultans of Delhi for their survival is one of the most important phases in the annals of the Medieval history of the country. Rajasthan was the only part of the country in Northern India which successfully resisted the might of Islam for centuries. But the deliberate attempt on the part of Muslim Chroniclers to omit altogether the part played by the princes and the people of Rajasthan is significant. They have deliberately suppressed the part played by them for the defence of their country against the invasions of the Khaljis, alien in race, religion and language. The epic struggle of the Chahamanas prince Kanhadadeva of Jalor and the gallant fight of the illustrious Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor with Alauddin Khalji the mightiest of the Delhi Sultans, deserve a special mention in the history of the Medieval India.

The examples of the Rajput ladies of either Ranthambhor, Chittor or Jalor, who burnt themselves alive in fire in hundreds and thousands to make their husbands free to fight and die for the noble task of defending their country is superb in the annals of feminine gallantry. The friendly relations between Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor and the neo-Muslim converts under the leadership of Mahima Shah (Muhammad Shah) is a unique example in the History of Medieval India.

However, with a view to highlighting these events of the Medieval period of our history, the present work was taken up about three years back and, as will be seen from the foregoing

pages, almost all the existing sources both published and unpublished, have been fully utilised in the preparation of this monograph.

The whole work has been divided into eight chapters. Chapter I deals with the relations of the early Delhi Sultans (1206 A. D.-1290 A. D.) with Rajasthan. The political condition of Rajasthan as under its ruling clans on the eve of the Khalji invasions has been discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III deals purely with Jalaluddin Khalji's activities in Rajasthan. Chapters IV, V, VI and VII deal with Alauddin Khalji's relations with Ranthambhor, Chittor, Jalor and Jaisalmer respectively. We have concluded our narrative by highlighting some of the important features coming to our view in Chapter VIII.

I consider it my sacred duty to express my profound sense of obligation and gratitude to my revered teacher Dr. R. B. Singh for his valuable help in solving some of the knottiest problems of the History of the period. I shall be, failing in my duty if I do not express my indebtedness to my revered elder brother Prof. Girish Chandra Srivastav for the reading and correcting the manuscripts. I also take this opportunity to thankfully acknowledge the help I received from Sarva Sri Ghulam Saqlain Syed, Suresh Kumar Rai, A. K. Jain and Mukesh Kumar in reading the proof and preparing the index. I am also thankful to Shri Ram Hari Yadava for typing the manuscripts. I am equally thankful to the Vinod Printers for their sincere efforts to print the book in time. I am also thankful to all those who have rendered valuable help in various capacities. In the completion of this monograph my wife Dr. Mrs. Neera Srivastav, M. A., Ph. D. has been a constant source of inspiration to me. I am really indebted to her.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASI	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
Bib-Ind	: Bibliotheca Indica.
BF	• Tarikh-i-Firishta, Translated into English by John Briggs.
BG	: Bombay Gazetteer
CHI	: Cambridge History of India.
DHNI	: Dynastic History of Northern India, by H C Ray.
ED	• The History of India as Told by its own Historians by Elliot & Dowson.
EI	: Epigraphia Indica.
FS	: Futuhus Salatin by Isami, English translation by Agha Mehdi Husain.
Futuhus-Salatin	: Isami Text.
HM	; Hammira-Mahakavya of Nayachandra Suri
HMM	: Hammira Mada Mardana of Jayasimha
IA	: Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	• Indian Historical Quarterly.
JASB	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
JIH	• Journal of Indian History.
JRASB	• Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
MNK	: Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat. Translated into Hindi by Ram Narain Dueda, Banaras
NPP	Nagari Pracharini Patrika
POHC	: Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
RMR	• Rajputana Museum Report.

- RPG : Rajasthan Puratan Granthmala.
- SJGM : Singhi Jain Granth Mala.
- Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi : Yahya bin Sirhindi, Text.
- TFS : Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni. Translated into English by A. R. Fuller and A. Khallaque
- TM : Taju-l Ma-asir of Hasan Nizani.
- TN : Tabakat-i-Nasiri, translated into English by Major, H. G. Raverty.
- Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi : Zia Barni, Text.
- TMS : Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi of Yahya bin Sirhindi, translated into English by K. K. Basu.
- WC : Western Circle.
- WZKM : Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Also known as "Viena Oriental Journal."

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

EARLY DELHI SULTANS AND RAJASTHAN

Ever since the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, the Sultans of Delhi were continuously trying to annex Rajasthan into the Sultanate. After the fall of Prithviraja III, the Chahamanas ruler of Ajmer and Delhi in 1192 A.D., the Rajputs became leaderless. However the Chahamanas were merely defeated and not completely uprooted, for they still remained greatest foe to the Turks and to their designs for any permanent settlement in India.¹ Consequently, Jatwan, a feudatory Chief of the late Prithviraja III, rose in revolt at Hansi and Kutb-ud-din Aibak, Muhammad Ghoris newly appointed Deputy in India, had to fight hard to establish his supremacy in the region.²

Similarly, in Hariraja, the Younger brother of Prithviraja III, the Chahamanas soon got a new leader. And when Kutb-ud-din Aibak (who later became the first Sultan of Delhi), tried to establish his power over Ajmer and its surroundings, Hariraja stood firmly in his way. But while the Chahamanas of Ajmer were fighting with their backs to the walls, against the Turks for their survival, Govindaraja, the minor son of the Prithviraja III acted cowardly and accepted to be the tributary ruler of Ajmer under the Turks.³

1 Srivastava, Ashok K. The Life And Times of "

Aibak

p 53

2 *ibid*, pp 54-59

3 *T.M. ED, Vol 11, p 26, DF, Vol 1, p 171-73*

His decision was not acceptable to the Chahamanas who preferred death to slavery.¹ Accordingly, we learn from the Hammira Mahakavya that prince Govindaraja was banished from the Kingdom of his father by his uncle Hariraja,² who took refuge in the fort of Ranthambhor.³ The fort of Ranthambhor, was later on conquered by Kutb-ud-din Aibak⁴ and Govindaraja was made its tributary ruler.⁵

Hariraja and his General Jaitra (Jatwan) tried their luck once more, but they were ultimately defeated and the fort of Ajmer was finally captured by the Turks in 1194 A. D.⁶ According to Firishta, Hariraja and his General gave battle to the Turks but were defeated and slain and their Army routed.⁷ We learn from the Hammira Mahakavya, that Hariraja having failed against the Muslims, consigned himself to the flames.⁸ Testifying to the same version Hasan Nizami, the contemporary Muslim Chronicler also writes that Jaitra in despair "Sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre, after which the fort, which was one of

- 1 Srivastava Ashok K. : The Life And Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, p, 64.
- 2 HM, IV, 24 and 29; I A, Vol. VIII, p. 62; NPP Vol. III, part VI, (New ed). p. 275; BF, Vol. 1, p. 179.
- 3 HM, IV, 23-26; I A, Vol. VIII, p. 62.
- 4 Tarikh-i-Frakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah, p. 22
- 5 HM, IV, 20-31
- 6 IA, Vol. VIII, p. 62; BF, Vol. I, p. 194; Ahluwalia M. S. on the evidence of a grant found from Tunoti fixes the date of the event in 1195 A. D. : Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan, p 44; For its detailed account read Srivastava Ashok K. the Lif And Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, pp. 63-65, and 95-115; Singh, R. B., History the Chahamanas, pp. 215-224.
- 7 B F, Vol. 1, p. 194
- 8 HM, IV, 18-19; Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1911-12, p. 2.

the most celebrated of Hind was easily taken"¹ Thus Hariraja though, bravely defended the fort for some time, was ultimately defeated and the fort of Ajmer was captured by Kutb-ud-din Aibak

Annexation of Bayana [Thangar]

Bayana² the ancient town situated in the former Bharatpur state, which has been identified by Dr Dasharatha Sharma as the 'Bhadanaka kingdom'³ next attracted the eyes of the Turks. The Chief of the fort was Kunwar Pal, who was a feudatory ruler during the reign of Prithviraja III⁴ According to Hasan Nizami, the ruler of Thangar (Bayana) "prided himself on the number of his army and the strength of his castle"⁵

Consequently, Muhammad Ghori marched towards Bayana⁶ either in the year 591 H or in the year 592 H (1195-96 A D) but its ruler evacuated the fort without any resistance⁷ and retired towards the fort of Tangarh (Tahangarh) for the safety of life⁸ But soon he was compelled to sue for peace. The Sultan, though spared

1 ED, Vol II, p 223

2 It is situated 75 kilo-meters to the South-West of Agra. Archaeological survey of India Report, Vol VI, pp 54 and 56 *ibid* Vol VII, pp 81-82

3 Rajasthan Through the Ages Vol I p 21, Also *ibid* pp 23-24

4 Srivastava Ashok K. The Life And Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, p 107

5 ED, Vol II, p 227

6 For the detailed account read Srivastava Ashok K. The Life and Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, pp 106-3 and Ahluwalia M S. Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan pp 43-47

7 TN, Vol I, pp 516, 515 ED, Vol II, p 227 BF, Vol I, p 19

8 Srivastava Ashok K. The Life And Time of Kutb-ud-din Aibak p 103

his life, captured the fort including the nearby places and, "the country was purified from the defilement of infidelity and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion".¹ And after imposing the heavy revenue upon its inhabitants, the Sultan entrusted the charge of its administration to one of his trusted Turkish slaves, named Baha-ud-din Tughril.² The new Muslim commander of the place further founded another military post at Sultan kot³ probably as a means to operate successfully into Rajasthan.

Clash with the Mhers

Towards the end of the year 592 H. (1196 A.D.), Kutb-ud-din Aibak had to face yet another sanguine threat from the side of the Mher tribe, which inhabited the neighbourhood of Ajmer.⁴ On this occasion the Raja of Nagor and many other Hindu Rajas had entered into an alliance with the Mhers.⁵ The Raja of Nahrwala, had also formed a design to wrest Ajmer from the Muslims,⁶ and to drive the Turks away from Rajputana.

Consequently a battle, ensued and Kutb-ud-din Aibak received a deadly blow at the hands of the Rajputs. The Muslim army was forced to retreat. The Muslim General, according to Firishta, had received six wounds.⁷ Consequently, Kutb-ud-din Aibak and his army fled from the field of battle

1 ED, Vol. II, p. 227.

2 *ibid*; TN, Vol. I, p. 545; BF, Vol. I, p. 179.

3 TN, Vol. I, p. 545.

4 For its detailed account read *The life and Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak* pp. 112-115.

5 BF, Vol. I pp. 195-96

6 *ibid*, p. 196.

7 BF, Vol. I, p. 196; According to Firishta Kutb-ud-din Aibak was carried in a litter to Ajmer, *ibid*.

and took refuge in the fort of Ajmer. The Rajput army gave a hot chase to the fleeing Muslim army and besieged Kutb-ud-din in the fort of of Ajmer. The siege continued for a long time. Kutb-ud-din Aibak was forced to ask for fresh help from the Sultan. Muhammad Ghorī, immediately sent a strong re-inforcement from Ghazni to the relief of the besieged General.¹ The timely arrival of the contingent, saved the situation and the Rajputs were compelled to abandon the siege.² Firishta admits that 'Kootb-ood-deen Eibak, ambitious of extending his conquests, led his army into Rajputana, where, having experienced a severe defeat, he was compelled to seek protection in the fort of Ajmer.'³

But Kutb-ud-din Aibak did not lose his courage, and having recovered from his wounds he marched towards Gujrat in January 1197 A. D.⁴ to avenge the defeat of his own as well as that of his Master Muhammad Ghorī on a previous occasion.⁵ The ruler of Gujrat at that time was Bhīma II, who had helped the Mhers of Ajmer in their struggle for independence, and played as trumpcard in inflicting a defeat on the Muslims at Ajmer in 1196 A. D.⁶ Most probably, Kutb-ud-din Aibak and his army passed through the lofty forts of Palī and Nadol.⁷ The Chauhukya feudatory Jayasimha, who was in the charge of the

1 TM, ED, Vol II, p 229, BF, Vol I, p 196

2 TM, FD, Vol II, p 229

3 BF, Vol I, p 180

4 TM, FD, Vol II, p 229

5 For details read, Srivastava Ashok K. The Life and Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, pp 116-120

6 *ibid*, p 116

7 *ibid*, and see note 4

forts of Pali and Nadol, joining hands with Dharavarsa Paramara, the Chief of Abu, drew up "at the foot of Mount Abu, and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter".¹ This was the very place where Sultan Muhammad Ghori has tasted his first severe defeat in India in 1178 A. D. Kutb-ud-din Aibak did not dare attack the Rajput army who were in a strong position, and where Sultan Muhammad Ghori had been once seriously wounded and defeated and "It was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander."² On account of this hesitation, Kutb-ud-din Aibak rightly decided to move on towards the plains where the Turkish horses could prove a boon.

The Rajputs considered this act of the Turks a cowardly one and unnecessarily left the pass with a view to give the invaders an open fight. However, the Rajputs had to pay the penalty for the wrong move and were decisively beaten on February 4, 1197 D.³ The fort of Pali and Nadol were captured by Kutb-ud-din Aibak⁴ The victorious army moved towards Gujrat which was also completely sacked and captured.⁵ Kutb-ud-din Aibak after this victory returned to Delhi via Ajmer.⁶

We have no definite information about Kutb-ud-din Aibak's further activities in Rajasthan. However Fakhre Mudabbir is

1 TM, ED, Vol. II, p. 230 : also read the Life and Times of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, p. 118 and Footnotes 1 to 4.

2 TM, ED, Vol. II, p. 230

3 The Life and Time of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, p. 120

4 BF, Vol. I, p. 196

5 TM, ED, Vol. II, p. 230 : BF, Vol. I, p. 197

6 *ibid*, pp. 230-31; p. 197

the only contemporary Chronicler who records Kutb ud din Aibak's successful invasions of Rajasthan. According to him, having conquered "Chantwarwal" (Chandawar) and Kannauj earlier his next target was Rajasthan. Accordingly Kutb-ud din Aibak annexed Sirohi in 595 H (1198-1199 A. D.) and forced the Chahamanas of Nadol to migrate to safer places¹. It is not improbable that while the hold on Rajputana was being sought to be extended, the process caused a southward migration of the Chahamanas from Nadol.

"Aibak's hold on Rajputana however, was, in no way, destined to be a permanent one, as is quite obvious from the subsequent events"². Thus during the whole reign of Kutb ud din Aibak, both as Viceroy and as the Sultan of Delhi, we do not find any planned attempt on his part to annex the whole of Rajasthan. In fact, he never thought of seriously to conquer Rajasthan and his hold on this region was merely temporary.

Itutmish (1211-1236 A. D.)

During the brief and feeble reign of Aram Shah, the Rajput clans of Rajasthan seem to have recovered much of their lost glories. But Itutmish, the new and energetic Sultan of Delhi was not satisfied merely with the inherited territories in Rajasthan, but also made some serious attempts to capture the Western region of Rajasthan.

After consolidating his position at Delhi, Itutmish turned his attention towards Rajasthan. We learn from the *Hamira* Mada-Mardana of Jayasimha that the Muslim forces led by

1 *Tarikh-i-Fakh-uddin Mubarak Shah*, p. 24

2 *The Life and Times of Kutb-ud Din Aibak* p. 129

Milachchhrikara (identified with Iltutmish) attacked Mewar¹ on their way to the invasion of Gujrat. This event has also been mentioned in the Chirwa inscription.² The ruler of Mewar who had to fight against this Muslim invasion was Jaitra Simha (1213-1251 A. D.). Although Mewar suffered heavily, Jaitra Simha, supported by Viradhavala of Dholaka (Gujrat) and his allies Udai Simha (The Chahamana ruler of Jalor), Dharavarsa (The Paramara ruler of Chandra-Vati-Abu) and others caused the retreat of the Sultan without achieving his end. It is perhaps on account of this ignominious retreat of the Muslim Sultan that the Muslim Historians have completely ignored this invasion. Most probably this invasion took place in the year 1220-21 A.D.

A few years later the Sultan turned his attention towards Ranthambhor and, as we learn from the Hammira Maha Kavya he treacherously killed Viranarayana,³ the ruler of Ranthambhor and captured the fort in 1226 A. D.⁴

Iltutmish also tried to reduce the fort of Jalor. Udai Simha (1204-1257 A.D.), the powerful Chahamana ruler of Jalor faced the Muslim army under the leadership of Iltutmish at least on three occasions. Hasan Nizami records the capture of Jalor some time between 1211 and 1216 A. D.⁵ But the fort of Jalor could not be conquered completely.⁶ In about 1221 A. D. Iltutmish

1 HMM, III, 27

2 MZ KM, Vol. XXI, p. 157, V. 16

3 HM, IV, 82,-106; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 63

4 TN. Vol. 7, pp. 610-11; Rizvi *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat* p. 26; FS, Vol. II, p. 235.

5 ED, Vol. II, pp. 235-36; Rizvi : *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat* pp. 274-75.

6 Srivastava Ashok K. : *The Chahamanas of Jalor*, p. 21.

again assumed the offensive against Rajasthan and Gujrat, but from the fear of the confederacy of the Hindu rulers, as described above Sultan Iltutmish quietly withdrew without fight ¹ Obviously Uday Simha was one of the members of the league ²

Iltutmish seems to have led one more expedition against Jalor,³ without any notable success. The Sundha hill inscription credits Uday Simha to have curbed the pride of the Turushkas ⁴. It is quite clear that inspite of his repeated attempts, Iltutmish could not reduce the Kingdom of Jalor, and Uday Simha was as strong as ever ⁵. Minhaj us Siraj no doubt includes Jalor among the conquests of the Sultan Iltutmish ⁶ but this is contradicted by epigraphic evidence⁷, which certainly gives the other side of the picture.

Iltutmish is also said to have successfully invaded Mandor, which, according to Minhaj us Siraj, was within the limits of the Siwalik territory. This happened in the year 624 H (1227AD), about one year after the capture of Ranthambhor ⁷. But soon after the fort seems to have been recaptured by the Rajputs, for we find that the later Sultans of Delhi had to launch fresh attacks to conquer it.

Thus Jaitra Simha of Mewar (1213-1251 A. D.) and Uday Simha of Jalor (c. 1204 c. 1257 A. D.), who were the then leaders of

1 ECD p. 152

2 Srivastava Ashok K. The Chahamanas of Jalor, p. 21.

3 ibid p. 22

4 I I, Vol. IV, p. 78, verse 46. Also see MNK, Vol. I p. 153 SJGJ, Vol. II p. 50

5 Srivastava Ashok K. The Chahamanas of Jalor p. 24.

6 TN, Vol. I, p. 337

7 ibid p. 611. Rizvi. Adl. Turk. Kal. o. Pharat, p.

Rajasthan foiled all attempts of Iltutmish to penetrate deep into Rajasthan, and except for the few minor successes, Iltutmish could not get any notable success in Rajasthan

Ranthambhor and the successors of Iltutmish

Taking the advantage of the weak immediate successors of Iltutmish, the rulers of Rajasthan utilized every opportunity to gather more power and strength by means of territorial gains. In fact Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz (1236 A.D) Raziya (1236-1240 A.D), Bahram Shah (1240-1242 A.D) and Masud Shah (1242-1246 A.D.), the immediate successors of Iltutmish were either weak or so involved in the internal conflicts and court intrigues that they were unable to take any action against the rulers of Rajasthan

Vagbhata (C. 1237-1253 A.D), appears to have ruled over Ranthambhor during the reign of the weak successors of Iltutmish. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj the fort of Ranthambhor appears to have been recovered by the Hindus during the reign of Sultan Raziya (1236-1240 A.D.), soon after the death of Iltutmish.¹ Vagbhata appears to have ruled Ranthambhor unmolested till 1248 A. D.

But during the vigorous administration of Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban) under Nasiruddin Mahmud political activities against the Rajputs became hot once again. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, in 646 H. (1248-1249 A. D.) Ulugh Khan marched with an ample force towards Ranthambhor² whose king was the greatest, of the Rais of "Hindustan". Our Chronicler informs that the Khans' soldiers showed great courage and fought well; they sent many of the infidels to hell, and secured

1 TN. Vol. I, p. 642.

2 *ibid*, pp. 684-85.

great spoils after which they returned to the capital ¹ In fact this invasion does not seem to have been a successful one for Ulugh Khan had to undertake yet another invasion of Ranthambhor four or five years later in 1253 A D However, in the conflict too, the armies of the Sultan suffered great losses and one of the Chief Commanders of the Sultan, named Malik Baha-uddin Aibak, the Khwajah, was killed by the Hindus in the engagement.²

Although Minhaj-us-Siraj hints of a Muslim victory, but it could not have been a notable one because, instead of proceeding any further, Ulugh Khan returned to Nagor³ from where he had started ⁴

These two invasions under the leadership of Ulugh Khan must have been of harassing nature and Vagbhata continued unmolested in the possession of Ranthambhor. He must have been a powerful ruler who successfully defied the might of a great General of the age, and forced the pen of Minhaj to call him "the greatest of Rats and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindustan" ⁵

Jaitra Simha succeeded Vagbhata in C. 1253 A D He appears to have come into clash with the Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud According to Minhaj-us-Siraj Malik-un-Nawwab I-bak was appointed to command an army sent against the

1 *ibid*, p. 634.

2 *ibid*, p. 635 Rizvi, *Adi Turk halin Bharat*, p. 48

3 Nagor is a place in Rajasthan, 70 miles South-East of Jodhpur.

4 *ED*, Vol II, p. 371, *ECD*, p. 104.

5 *ED*, Vol II p. 370 Rizvi *Adi Turk halin Bharat* p. 20.

infidels of Ranthambhor in 657 H. (C. 1259 A. D.).¹ He was also assisted by the Mewati-Leader Malka.² In this conflict Jaitra Simha seems to have ultimately accepted the Suzerainty of the Muslims and paid tribute to them.³ Thus within a short span of eleven years (1248-59), Ranthambhor had to be invaded thrice and it was the third attempt only which seems to have borne some fruits.

Mewar

We also notice a Muslim invasion of Chittor in 1248 A. D. during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud. We learn from Firishta that when Sultan Nasiruddin sent his younger brother Jalaluddin from Kannauj to Delhi, the latter preferred running away to the hills of Chittor. The Sultan pursued him, but when he found that the prince could not be captured, he returned back to Delhi after a lapse of eight months.⁴ Dr. D. Sharma is of the opinion that "though Firishta does not explicitly mention the fact, Nasiruddin's failure to capture Jalaluddin might have been due to his being sheltered by Jaitra Simha who at the time was on the throne of Mewar."⁵ The reign of Jaitra Simha (1213-1251 A. D.) marks a definite landmark in the annals of Mewar. During the long reign of 38 years, he raised the power and prestige of the Guhila family of Mewar which came to occupy a prominent and honourable place among the Hindu States of the time.

We find yet another Muslim raid on Mewar during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud. The ruler of Mewar during this

1 TN, Vol. I, p. 713; ED, Vol. II, pp. 353-380.

2 ED, Vol. II, p. 380; Also see BF, Vol. I, pp. 244-45.

3 IA, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

4 BF, Vol. I, p. 238; Ojha : Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol. I, p. 165.

5 Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 656.

time was Teja Simha (C. 1251-1270 A. D.). About the year 1255-56 A.D, Qutlugh Khan, Sultan Nasiruddin's step-father and one of the Chief nobles of the State, revolted and fled towards Chittor. He was hotly chased by Ulugh Khan (Balban) but could not be captured. Ulugh Khan is said to have destroyed the stronghold in which the rebel had taken refuge.¹ It appears the rebellious noble begged for refuge from the Guhila ruler of Mewar which the magnanimous Hindu ruler could not refuse. This seems to have brought about a clash of arms with Ulugh Khan and in the action that followed at the foot of the Chittor Fort, Ratna the elder son of Kshema Talara of Chittor, lost his life.² Bhima Simha, the Pradhana of Mewar also fought and fell in this battle.³

The Mewatis

Manhaj-us-siraj records one more invasion of Rajasthan during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud. It was perhaps the last invasion of Rajasthan during his reign. Accordingly we are informed that the Islamic army marched from Delhi in the direction of the hills on the 13th of the Month of Safar 658 H. 29 January, 1260 A. D.⁴ to put down the violence of the contumacious Mewatis,⁵ "of whom a demon would be

1 BF, Vol. I, p 242.

2 WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-62, V. 26, Rav Chaudhary G.C. .
History of Mewar, pp. 57-8

3 Sharma, D. Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 661.

4 TN, Vol. I, p. 715; Ad-Turk Kalim Bharat, p. 55

5 The Mewatis were invaded for the first time during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud in the year 646 H. (1243 A. D.) when Ulugh Khan had marched against them with a strong force. According to Minhaj-us Siraj the victorious army returned in triumph to the capital. TN, Vol. I, pp 634-85, ED. Vol. I
invasion does not seem to be a successful
subsequent evn.

horrified.”¹ Consequently, we are told that Ulugh Khan-i-Azam marched towards Rajasthan at the head of a strong force of 10,000 horsemen “in defensive armour, warlike and relentless warriors.” Minhaj-us-Siraj informs us that a large number of the Hindus” beyond computation fell beneath the uprising sword of the holy-warriors.”² But it appears that the Mewatis could not be crushed completely for we find that their uprising brought about yet another invasion of their territories during the early part of the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban.

Thus, inspite of the repeated invasions of Rajasthan during the long reign of twenty years of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, we do not find any notable success achieved by him in that region.

Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287 A. D.)

Nasiruddin Mahmud was succeeded by Ghiyasuddin Balban in 1266 A. D.³ Balban believed in consolidation rather than in conquest. Zia Barni informs us that when Balban’s government had become firm and stable, his intimate friends and Generals like Adil Khan, Tabar Khan and several other Amirs represented to the Sultan that “Sovereigns, like Kutb-ud-din Aibak and Shams-ud-din, our former patrons, conquered Jhain, Malwa, Ujjain, Gujarat, and other distant countries, and carried off treasure and valuables, and elephants and horses from the Rais and Ranas. How is it that with your well equipped and disciplined army you do not undertake any distant campaign, and

1 TN, Vol. 1, p. 715.

2 *ibid*; *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*; p. 55.

3 Rizvi . *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat* p. 55.

never move out of your territory to conquer other regions".¹ Balban rejected this plea altogether and replied that "It will not be an act of wisdom to leave Delhi and to go on distant campaigns in these days of turmoil and insecurity, when the Mongols have occupied all the lands of Islam, devastated Lahore, and made it a point to invade our country once every years."²

Balban further added, ' If I move out of the capital, the Mongols are sure to avail of this opportunity by sacking Delhi and ravaging the Doab. Maintaining peace and consolidating our power in our own kingdom is for better than invading foreign territories, while our own dominion is insecure.³ The Sultan also said, "I never leave my kingdom, nor will I go to any distance from it. In the reigns of my patrons and predecessors there was none of this difficulty of the Mughals; they could lead their armies where they pleased, subdue the dominions of the Hindus, and carry off gold and treasures, staying away from their capitals a year or two. If this anxiety, which admonishes me that I am the guardian and protector of Muslims, were removed, then I would not stay one day in my capital, but would lead forth my army to capture treasures and valuables, elephants and horses, and would never allow the Rais and Ranas to repose in quiet at a distance."⁴

It is quite clear from this passage that Balban had some problems quite different from those of his predecessors. His

1 *Ibid.*

2 *I.D.*, Vol. III, p 102. Also Zia Barni: *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, edited by Sir Syed Ahmed, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1862, pp, 63-64.

3 *Ibid.* p 102; pp. 5'-52

4 *I.D.*, Vol. II, p 103, Also *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*

own theory of kingship was to consolidate the kingdom and raise the prestige and power of the Crown.¹ Infact the North-Westren Frontier problem, the supression of the various rebellions and the consolidation of the empire kept him engaged allthrough his reign. Consequently, during his long reign of about two decades Balban does not seem to have invaded Rajasthan at all. However in order to maintain the integrity of the empire he held that its consolidation was an essential ingradient of his theory of Kingship and hence he could not tolerate any rebellion or any kind of breach of peace within the limits of his empire. The Mewatis, who inhabited the Western part of modren Uttar Pradesh (Mathura and Agra districts) and Western regions of Rajasthan (Bharatpur and Alwar districts), had during this period become a meanace to the peace and Tranquility not only of this region, but also to those of the Imperial Capital, and according to Zia Barni their daring raids had developed into such a terror that the Western gates of the city (Delhi) were shut out at afternoon prayer ²

Accordingly, Balban devoted his full one year in the suppression of the Mewatis and ordered to clear the forests and capture the places of rebellions. A large number of Mewatis were killed but nearly one hundred thousand of the royal army were also slain in this battle.³

1 Tripathi, R. P. . Some Aspects of Muslim Administration p. 35 : Habibuallah, ABM : The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India p. 161.

2 ED, Vol. III, p. 104.

3 *ibid.*

Balban succeeded in this war only after a grim fight causing the royal army a tremendous loss. In order to wipe out the Mewati menace he built in the vicinity the fort of Gopalgir.¹ Several posts were established round about the city and the Sultan appointed mostly Afghan soldiers in the charge of these posts.² This is the only notable success of Balban on the outer fringe of Rajasthan.

Balban's reign lasting for about 22 years,³ ended towards the close of the year 1287 A. D. After the death of Balban Sultan Muizz ud-din Kaiqubad ascended the throne in the same year at the young age of seventeen or eighteen years.⁴ He proved to be one of the most ineffective Sultans of Delhi. He was also a victim of the Delhi court intrigues. Though he was brought up under the strict guardianship of his grand father Balban, but once the unexpected favour of fortune placed him on the throne, he immediately forgot all the lessons of his grand father, and gave him self up to debauchery and dissipation of every kind.⁵ The situation became worse when Sultan was struck with paralysis and was confined to his couch.⁶

The serious involvement in the Delhi court politics, ediction to wine and women and poor health, all combined into one, could not allow Kaiqubad to launch any expedition to Rajasthan.

1 FD, Vol III, p 104 FS, Vol II, p 291

2 ibid,

3 Muhammad Aziz Al-maj Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, p 297

4 ED, Vol III, p. 125

5 ibid, pp 125-126

6 ibid, p 126

All these weaknesses of the Sultan encouraged the ambitious Khalji nobles, to obtain the crown, under the leadership of Jalaluddin Khalji ¹ Consequently, a revolution² led by the Khaljis took place with the result that the Sultan was murdered and his body was thrown into the river Jamuna.³ This event happened in the year 1290 A. D. and by the death of Sultan Kaiqubad Muizzu-ddin, says Zia Barni, "the Turks lost the Empire."⁴ Similarly, Firishta also remarks that "this event put an end to the dynasty of Ghoomy, and established that of Khiljy."⁵

Thus with the establishment of the Khalji dynasty, a new era began in the history of India. "It not only heralded the advent of a new dynasty" says Dr. K. S. Lal "but it also ushered in an era of ceaseless conquests' of unique experiments in statecraft."⁶ He further adds "what is of striking importance during the regime of the Khaljis (and specially of Alauddin) is a continuous series of unprecedented conquests in the annals of Indo-Muslim History. For the first time the Khaljis carried Muslim arms into the remotest corners of the country. Constitutionally the Khaljis were empire builders, for they brought to knees independent kings at home and kept an eye on defence against external aggression".⁷

1 ED, Vol. III, pp. 134 - 135.

2 For the Khalji Revolution, read K. S. Lal's : History of the Khaljis, pp. 1-11.

3 ED, Vol. III, p. 135; BF, Vol. I, p. 283.

4 *ibid.*

5 BE, Vol. I, p. 283.

6 History of the Khaljis, p. 16.

7 *ibid.*, p. 17.

The situation certainly changed with the coming in of the ambitious Khaljis into power. Fresh schemes were formulated for the conquest of the whole of Hindustan under one banner and naturally Rajasthan could not be left untouched. It is interesting to note that prior to the Khaljis the Sultans of Delhi (1206 - 1290) A D, could not make any lasting impression even by means of their repeated invasions in Rajasthan. In their early military operations they had no doubt captured Ajmer, Nagor, Bayana and its surrounding regions, but their hold even in these regions was not very secure and permanent.

Very often their invasions into the interior of Rajasthan were nothing more than raids and their objectives were either to capture booty or create terror. Of course, Rajasthan itself was, during this period, a divided house with almost all the local Rajas and rulers being self-centred. Even Common religion and common nationality failed to unite them. They knew it, however, that they were fighting against heavy odds and their individual bravery was of no avail against the might of the Sultans, but all the same they could not think in terms of putting up a common front. In Rajasthan there were at least three powerful ruling families during this age, which divided among themselves a major portion of Rajasthan, besides numerous local rulers owing allegiance to one or the other. There were the Chahamanas of Ranthambhor and Jalor and the Guhilas of Chittor, but even the Chahamanas failed to unite much less the Chahamanas and the Guhilas. But even if they could not think in terms of the country, they failed to think in terms of Rajasthan either over which they had ruled for centuries. It, no doubt, goes to their credit to keep the pressure of Islam confined to the northern fringe of Rajasthan with perhaps Nagor as its head quarters, but this does not mean that they were not terror was

their good fortune that with the exception of Iltutmish and Balban, the rest of the Delhi Sultans were weaklings who failed to survive even petty court-intrigues. As regards Iltutmish, he was the ruler of Delhi during the Sultanat's infancy which needed his energies more for its consolidation than expansion. Similarly Balban, as deputy of Nasiruddin Mahmud, had no doubt made several incursions into Rajasthan, but these raids could not make any deep impressions on its rulers. But when he assumed the reins of the government in his own hands, he adopted an altogether different attitude towards Rajasthan. The Mongol menace had grown to such high proportions during his reign that he could not risk the throne of Delhi by making expeditions into Rajasthan. This attitude on his part as well as the weak rule of his grand son and successor Kaiqubad offered ample opportunities to the rulers of Rajasthan to strengthen themselves though separately. They seem to have driven away the remnants of the Muslim outposts even from parts of northern Rajasthan. In fact during the whole of the thirteenth century the Delhi Sultanate failed to add much to its prestige in so far as the conquest of Rajasthan was concerned and even Jalaluddin Khalji, the first of the Khalji Sultans, could not make any impression on Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor inspite of his repeated attempts.

THE RAJPUT KINGDOMS OF RAJASTHAN ON THE EVE OF KHALJI IMPERIALISM

After the second battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D. the once mighty Chahamanas kingdom of Ajmer was completely dismembered, and although a major part of the Hindu empire was annexed into the new Sultanate of Delhi, local Hindu rulers asserted their power and established independent states in its Southern and Western parts. However, in their career of arms these states had to struggle hard, and besides their infighting, they had to face the onslaughts of the Delhi Sultans off and on. These internal and external dangers stretched their nerves to the utmost and it demanded extra-ordinary energy, initiative and imagination on their part even for their survival. However, the occasional weaknesses of the Delhi Sultans gave them opportunities to organise and strengthen their power and they seldom failed to make use of them. But their vision of independence was narrow and they always sacrificed the national cause for dynastic interests. As this warrior class among the Hindus was individualistic to the core, their dynastic rivalries never allowed them to be organised under a single banner to oppose the foreign foe. Consequently, even nearly a century's alien rule in Delhi could not produce political unity in Rajasthan, and different centres of power sprang up to hold their own individually against the forces of Islam, newly planted in Hindustan.

The Chahamanas of Ranthambhor

In 1194 A. D., the year of the last engagement between kutub-ud-din Aibak¹ and Hariraja, the younger brother of Prithviraja III, the Chahamanas Kingdom of Ranthambhor was established by Govindaraja, the minor son of the last Chahamanas King of Ajmer and Delhi. In the early part of the thirteenth century this new kingdom had to face heavy odds due to Muslim incursions off and on, but in the second half of the century it gradually rose to be a powerful state, so much so that in the last two decades of the century it proved a serious threat even to the Delhi Sultans.

Hammiradeva the last descendant of Govindaraja, ascended the throne in V. E. 1339 (1282 - 1283 A. D.).¹ He, after having taken over the reins of the Government, resolved to set-out on a series of war-like expeditions against the neighbouring Hindu States. His blows first fell on Bhimarasapura (Modern Bhainsradapur)² situated in Malwa, and its king Arjuna was reduced to submission. Next he marched on Mandalakrita Durga (Mandalgarh)³ which was situated between Bundi and Chittor, and its ruler saved himself by paying tribute. From there he went to Dhara which was ruled by Paramara king Bhoja, who, like his famous name-sake, was a friend of the poets. He was defeated. Hammiradeva's arms were next turned towards Avanti (Ujjain) on the Sipra. He gave some rest to his army there. The king paid his devotion to the Mahakala whose temple had been partly destroyed by Shamsuddin Iltutmish. In Ujjain, he

1 H. M., 8, 106-108; IA, Vol., p. 64.

2 NPP, New ed., Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 316.

3 Ojha, G. H. : Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol. 1, p. 56.

passed in triumphal procession through the principal streets to celebrate his conquests of Malwa. Leaving Ujjain, the Chahamanas king marched on Chitrakuta (Chittor), and conquering Medapata (Mewar), he passed on it Arbudadri (Mt Abu) the Olympus of the Hindus, where he paid his homage to Rishabhadeva. King of Arbuda (Abu), though himself a great warrior, submitted to him without struggle. From Abu Hammira arrived at Vardhanapura (Badhnor or Bednor)¹ which he plundered. Next he conquered Changa and, marching by way of Ajmer, his victorious army reached Pushkara where he worshipped Adivaraha. On his way to Sakambhari, he plundered Maharashtra, (Medhata²), Khandella, Champa and Kakarala (Kakarauli). At the last named place there came a king named Tribhuvanendra with rich presents to see him. After this Digvijai, when he returned back to his capital, he was given a befitting reception by his ministers Dharma Sinha and others.³ He thus conquered or plundered almost all the neighbouring states scattered over South-Eastern Rajasthan and Western Malwa.

Before starting on a career of conquest, Hammira must have first consolidated his administration, and trained and equipped his army fully. This must have taken at least three or four years. We know that he sat on the throne in 1282-3 A. D., so most probably he set-out for his wars of Digvijai in

1 NPP, New ed. Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 316-19.

2 *ibid.*

3 HM, 9, 1-43; IA, Vol. VIII, pp. 64-55: For the places conquered by Hammiradev, see NPP, pp. 316-19.

1286 A. D. and came back victorious to his capital in about 1290 A. D. These wars must have been over latest by A.D. 1290, for in the very next year he had to fight Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji which was the beginning of the grim struggle which kept him engaged upto the end of his reign.

The Guhilas of Mewar

The Guhilas had established their power in Mewar some times in the last quarter of the 6th. century A. D., and since then for nearly fourteen hundred years they continued to maintain their hold in that region, against heavy odds. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. Samarasimha was on the throne of Chittor. He ascended the throne in c. 1270 A. D. and had a long reign of 32 years (1270 – 1302 A. D.).

His inscriptions cover his reign period from V. S. 1330 to 1358 (1273 – 1301 A. D.). The Abu inscription seems to refer to his conflict with the Muslims. We learn from it that "Like unto the primeval bear, having the sword for his flashing tusk, he, in a moment, lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Tirushka sea."¹ Dr. H. C. Ray² and Dr. D. Sharma³ are of the view that as Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban was reigning at Delhi during this period, this may refer to a conflict with him. But this abortive expedition cannot be attributed to Balban, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, Muslim historians are silent about any invasion of Gujrat during his reign, and, secondly, as Barni definitely states, when some courtiers urged Ghiyasuddin

1 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345-58, v. 46.

2 DHNI, Vol. I', p. 1195.

3 Sharma, D. : Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 662.

Balban to conquer Gujrat, Malwa and other provinces, the Sultan replied that he had the will to do more than this, but he had no intention of exposing Delhi to the fate of Baghdad ¹ Obviously he had in mind the capture of Baghdad by the Mongol invader Hulaku in 1258 A. D. The same Mongols were hammering on the North-Western gates of India during his reign too. He was, in fact, on the defensive in respect of these invasions, and actually in 1285 A. D. the year in which the Abu inscription of Samarasimha was set up, his eldest son Muhammad died in an encounter with the Mongols led by Tamar Khan ² Thus Tamar Khan, the Mongol leader was present in Multan in 1285 A. D. It is highly likely therefore that during the respite immediately after the death of prince Muhammad and before Kai-Khusru, the son of the martyr prince came from Delhi to take up the government at Multan, a mobile army of the Mongols have penetrated into the interior towards Gujrat but it was intercepted on its way at Abu. So far as the Hindus were concerned they called every foreigner a Turushka irrespective of his nationality whether he was a Turk, Afghan or Mongol.

As Samarasimha claims to have lifted the Gurjara land which had sunk deep into the Turushka ocean, it clearly implies that he came to the rescue of Gujrat and that his own land was not invaded then. His presence at Abu in 1285 A. D. further indicates that the invasion took place in 1285 A. D. and that it was intercepted at Abu, a place of strategic importance. We

¹ *FD*, Vol. Vol 111, p 102

² *ib id*, p. 122

may further infer from this that Abu was then included in the kingdom of Gujrat as is amply borne out by the evidence of the Patnarayana inscription dated 1287 A. D.¹ and the Abu Vimala Vasahi inscription, dated 1293 A. D.² Samarasimha's setting up of an inscription at Mount Abu, on the other hand, testifies to his occupation of Abu in 1285 A. D., and this he perhaps did by way of demanding a price of the assistance he rendered to the Vaghela ruler Sarangadeva (1274-96 A. D.) during the Mongol invasion. But as according to the Patnarayana inscription, dated V. S. 1344 (1287 A. D.), Abu was under Paramara Pratapasimha and Visala, the latter claiming to have taken part in the defeat of the Turushkas³ and as according to the Abu Vimala Vasahi inscription, dated V. S. 1350 (1293 A. D.)⁴ this Visala continued to hold his sway over that region under the suzerainty of Sarangadeva at least upto 1293 A. D. Samarasimha must have been relieved of his occupation of the Abu region sometime in 1287 A. D. or even earlier when Sarangadeva managed, with the assistance of his feudatory Visala, to install the Paramara prince Pratapasimha on the throne of his ancestors. Samarasimha must have naturally felt highly incensed when he was deprived of the fruits of his labour, and he must have sought, and actually got, an opportunity to avenge this affront very soon.

1 IA, Vol. XV, p. 79, V. 42.

2 Poona Orientalist, Vol. III, p. 69.

3 IA, Vol. XLV, p. 79, V. 42.

4 Poona Orientalist, Vol. III, p. 69.

Samarasimha had nothing to fear from his traditional enemies, the Paramaras of Malwa, who had, due to the constant hammerings of the Yadavas of Deogiri and the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, been reduced to a very negligible position. The Chaulukyas of Gujrat also were not in a position to launch any aggressive war. In the meantime the Chahamanas of Ranthambhor had secured a prominent position among the neighbouring states and Hammiradeva, after coming to the throne in 1283 A.D. started on a series of aggressive wars (Digvijaya) and, according to the Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandra Suri, he attacked Malwa, and, on his way back sacked Chittor and devastated Medapata (Mewar) before proceeding to Abu¹. This defeat must have weakened Samarasimha's position and lowered his prestige especially at a time when things were going to assume a threatening proportion not only for Mewar but also for all the Hindu States of the period.

Thus the real danger for the Guhilas of Mewar was gathering momentum in a different direction. Towards the closing period of Samarasimha's reign Alauddin, who had ascended the throne of Delhi as Sultan in 1296 A. D. was already planning for the conquest of the whole of Hindustan and in his ambitious and aggressive scheme the North Indian States of Ranthambhor, Mewar, Jalor, Malwa and Gujrat were the immediate targets of attack. Unfortunately the rulers of these States failed to realise the real nature of the danger and, instead of combining against a common foe, they frittered away their energies in internecine wars which not only reduced their strength but also created a

1 HM. IN, 15-27.

a political situation which made them unfit for a concerted attempt against the common enemy of their faith and freedom. A combination of Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor, Samarasimha of Mewar and Kanhadadeva of Jalor would have unnerved even a mighty Sultan like Alauddin Khalji and perhaps his dream of being another Alexander would have dashed to the ground. But this was not to be and every Hindu State had to face singly the onslaught of the Sultan of Delhi and fall one by one in a state of utter helplessness.

The Chahamanas of Jalor

The Sonagaras, one of the twentyfour branches of the Chahamanas, were the rulers of Javalipura (Jalor) which is also known as Suvarnagiri or Sonagiri and it is on account of their association with suvarnagiri¹ that they are called Sonagaras. They had branched off from the line of the Chahamana kings of Naddula and are thus the descendants of king Lakshmana.² It was Kirtipala, the son of Alhana, who at first made Suvarnagiri his seat of government. From his copper plate inscription of Nadol, issued in V. E. 1218 (1161 A. D.) during the reign of his father, we learn that the Rajakula Alhanadeva and the Kumara Kelhanadeva were pleased to give him twelve villages appertaining to Naddulai. Thus, 'Kittu' known as Kirtipala,

1 In the later Jain inscriptions of the descendants of Kirtipala this branch is called the Sonigaras (P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 205, No. 730) which may be said to have been derived from Suvarnagiri, the name of the hill fort of Jalor mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Samantasimha (1282-1302 A. D.) of this branch (*ibid.*, p. 240, No. 903). Also see Dr. G. N. Sharma : *Rajasthan Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, Second Edition, 1973, p. 182.

2 Srivastava, Ashok K. : *The Chahamanas of Jalor*, p. 1.

founded the Chahamana dynasty of Jalor sometime in the Second half of the 12th. century A. D.

After Kirtipala, Samarasimha¹ (C. 1182-C. 1204 A. D.) Udayasimha² (C. 1204 - 1257 A. D.), and Chachigadeva³ (C. 1257 - 1282 A. D.) were the rulers of Jalor. The last one was succeeded by Samantasingh⁴ who, ruled Jalor from C. 1282 to 1305 A. D.

We have nearly ten record of his reign ranging between 1283 and 1305 A. D. Thus though 1283 A. D. is his first known date, he appears to have come to the throne even earlier but certainly after 1278 A. D., the last known date of his predecessor. His son Kanhadadeva subsisted on his lotus-like feet and bore the burden of the administration of the state conjointly with him at least from 1296 A. D. onward. He appears to be helping his father in the administration of the kingdom as Yuvaraja or heir-apparent. We are further told by Muta Nainsi that he had another son, named Maladeva, also known as Muchchala Maladeva perhaps on account of his curiously big mustaches.⁵

1 For detailed account see Srivastava, Ashok K : The Chahamanas of Jalor pp. 9-13.

2 *ibid.*, pp. 15-24.

3 *ibid.*, 25-31.

4 *ibid.*, pp. 32-40

5 MNK Vol. I p. 153

The Bhatīs of Jaisalmer

The Bhatīs occupied the Valla-mada, the desert area of modern Jaisalmer round the first millenium of the Christian era. They had an era of their own which started from V. S. 680 - 81 or 623 - 24 A. D. This perhaps was in memory of some important event in their history and the first available reference to this era is in the year 534 Bhatika (1157 A. D.) from Lodrava. However, Vijayaraja is the earliest ruler of the clan about whom there are three inscriptions, dated in the Bhattika era.

Vijayaraja's last known date is 1176 A. D. and it appears that he died soon after it and was succeeded on the Bhatti throne of Lodrava in C. 1177 A. D. by his young son Bhojadeva. He had hardly ruled for a year or so and died fighting against the Turks in 1178 A. D.¹

Bhojadeva was succeeded by his uncle Jaisala (C. 1178 - 83 A. D.) who is also said to have founded the modern city of Jaisalmer, immediately after his accession to the throne in order to change his capital from Lodrava to a more safer place. Accordingly, he began building the fort, which was named

1 MMK, Vol. II pp. 27-73.

Jaisala-meru after him.¹ The other rulers of Jaisalmer were Salivahana (1183 - 1205 A. D.), Vajjala (1205 - A. D.), Kelhana (1205-1223 A.D.), Rawal Chachigadeva (1223 A. D.-1255 A. D.), and Rawal Karna (1255 - 1284 A. D.). Rawal Karna was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha I or Jaitsi who ruled from 1284 to 1303 A. D.

We learn from the *Kharataragachchha-brihadgurvavali* that at the request of the *Kajadhiraja Sri-Jaitrasimha Jinachandra Suri* went to Jaisalmer and was accorded a grand reception there in V. S. 1357 (1300 A. D.) Jaitrasimha sent some musical instruments for certain religious functions to be performed under the aegis of the *Suri*.² This clearly indicates that Jaitrasimha was on the throne of Jaisalmer in 1300 A. D.

1 The traditional date given by bardic chronicles for the foundation of Jaisalmer is V. S. 1212 (1155 A. D.), Dr. D. Sharma does not agree to it. According to him this traditional date is wrong because Jaisala came to the throne only after the death of Bhiladeva in V. S. 1234 (1178 A. D.). Dr. Sharma, *D. Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 235. But there appear nothing in accepting the traditional date of the foundation of Jaisalmer in V. S. 1212 (1155 A. D.). The prince when ousted by his younger brother from his paternal throne, might have settled down in a new place named after him as Jaisalmeru (Jaisalmer) in 1155 A. D., and when he ascended the throne he shifted his capital from Lothra to this new town and started its fortification to make it worthy of a capital town.

2 *Kharataragachchha-brihadgurvavali*, p. 61.

JALALUDDIN FIROZ KHALJI'S OPERATIONS INTO RAJASTHAN

Invasion of Ranthambhor By Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1291 A. D.)

The Hammira-Mahakavya describes in detail the famous engagement of Hammira with Alauddin Khalji. But it suffers from one great omission. It does not mention the attack of Jalal-ud-din Khalji on Ranthambhor. The growing power and prestige of the Chahamanas under Hammiradeva must have been an eye-sore to the Delhi Sultanate. The mighty Hammiradeva, who had stopped the payment of tribute, was gathering strength as an independent king and his activities were causing anxiety to the new but old and infirm Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji, who decided unwisely to invest and destroy Ranthambhor. Firishta informs us that in 1291 A. D., "The king, after the decease of his son, marched his army towards Runtunbhore, to quell an insurrection in those parts, leaving his son Arkully Khan in Dehly, to manage affairs in his absence. The enemy retired into the fort of Runtunbhore, and the king reconnoitred the place, but, despairing of reducing it, marched towards Oojein, which he sacked. At the same time, also, he broke down many of the temples of Malwa, and after plundering them of much wealth, returned to Runtunbhore. He summoned the fort a second time; but finding the Raja paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls. But again

wavering in his resolution, he decamped, saying, that he found the place could not be taken without the loss of many lives, and therefore he would lay aside the design" ¹

Amir Khusrau, however, gives a graphic description of Jalal-ud-din Khalji's invasion of Ranthambhor. "On Thursday, the 18th of Rabi-ul awwal, the Shah held a darbar, distributed robes of honour, and gave red umbrellas, durbashes, and standards to two of his confidential servants, and selected also Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim for marks of special favour. The maliks of the kingdom, according to their respective ability, showered gold upon the head of the king" ²

We are further told that after having held his Darbar, the Sultan marched from Siri towards Ranthambhor. Passing through Lohravat,³ Chaidawal, Narnaul and other places he arrived on the borders of Ranthambhor ⁴. The Turks began to plunder on every side, and the king sent out horsemen to collect information. The Hindus were killed or enslaved, as far as within four parasangs of Jhain. From this place, Karri Bahadur was sent on with a few archers to reconnoitre as far as the hills of Jhain, from which place 500 Hindus made a sally. They were wounded with the poisoned arrows of the Turks, and

1 BF, Vol. I, p. 301.

2 *Glurra'ul Karim, Mifta'ul Futuh, I D, Vol. III, p. 519*

3 Elliot has wrongly mentioned Lohra instead of Lohravat. But the *Oriental College Magazine Text of Mifta'ul Futuh*, November 1927, p. 27, has correctly given the name as 'Lohravat'. The village then lying to the west of Siri is not traceable now. It was here that Nasir-ud-din Altunash lost the throne to Ghori Tughluq in 1220 A. D. See *Jalal-ud-din's History of the Khaljis*, p. 23, footnote 24.

4 I D, Vol. II, pp. 306-41. *Oriental College Magazine, Lahore*, November, 1936, p. 20.

exclaimed in Hindi, 'strike, strike'. Seventy were killed and forty wounded, and though they were reinforced, they retreated to the hills and the royal troops returned to camp, and reported to the king what had occurred.¹

The Capture of Jhain

Next day he decided to attack the city of Jhain and consequently the Sultan despatched 1,000 men under Malik Khurram Ariz Malik, the chief Karibak, Malik Katlagh-tigin, Azam Mubarak, the amir of Narnaul, Ahmad Sarjandar, Mahmud Sarjandar, the chief huntsman Ahmad, and Anku and Abaji Akhurbak. So under the command of such famous Amirs the army of Islam "advanced at full speed to within two parasangs of Jhain, when they entered a narrow pass in the hills, and alarm soon spread in Jhain".²

On the arrival of the Muslim army, the Rai was in affright, and chose Gurdan Saini "who was the most experienced warrior amongst the 40,000 rawats under the rai, and had seen many fights among the Hindus" to oppose the advancing Muslim army. Gurdan Saini took with him 10,000 Rawats and proceeded to check the progress of the Turks. Consequently, a severe fight took place in which the Hindu commander Gurdan Saini met a heroic death "upon which the Hindu's fled, and in the pursuit many were slain and many taken prisoners."³ But from the side of Muslim army only one man was wounded".⁴

1 ED, Vol. III, p 541.

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*

4 *ibid.* This is rather strange that in a severe battle, large number of soldiers including the commander were killed on one side while on the other on'y one man was wounded. This is obviously one of the innumerable instances of the partialities of Muslim historians towards their co-religionists in their wars against the Hindus.

At last discouraged by the loss, thus suffered, the Hindu army evacuated the place in the cover of night and took shelter in the hills of Ranthambhor. On the other hand the victorious army reported to the Sultan their grand achievements and presented the plunder they had obtained, "the heads which they had cut off, armour, horses, swords," and "a string of rawats with their hands bound. The King allowed them to retain their booty, and distributed gold to them besides, and robes of honour".¹

The Sultan entered Jhain at mid day, three days after the victory and captured the fort and the palace evacuated by the Rai. The Sultan greatly admired "the exquisite colours and carving on the stone on which the figures were so beautifully cut, that they could not be exceeded in wax. The plaster was so beautifully made, that it reflected the image of one looking at it, and the mortar was mixed with sandal. The wood work was all of ud (gloe-wood)".² The Sultan then visited the temples which were ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver. But the aesthetic taste of the Sultan could not save them from their complete destruction. His iconoclastic fury forced him to issue orders for their complete destruction. All the temples including the fort and the palace were set on fire and reduced to dust, thus he "made a hell of paradise".³ Amir Khusrau further says that "the foundations of Jhain were so destroyed that the army of the Sultan was encircled by the

1 FD, Vol III, p 541.

2 *Ibid.*, p 542.

3 *Ibid.*, Oriental College Magazine, No. 13, pp. 35-38.
FD, Vol III, p 115. Also FD, Vol II, p 100.

discovery of burnt treasures, and so much gold was laden upon elephants, that nobody could tell its amount. This enormous wealth made rich men of beggars, for in every ruin a treasure had been found".¹ He further writes that "while the soldiers sought every opportunity of plundering, the Shah was engaged in burning the temples, and destroying the idols"² There the Muslim army also found two bronze images of Brahma, each of which weighed more than a thousand mans. But these were also broken into pieces, and the fragments distributed among the officers, with orders to throw them down at the gates of the Masjid on their return,"³ to Delhi.

Jalaluddin's unsuccessful siege of Ranthambhor

However, according to Zia Barni, the Sultan did not return to Delhi after the capture of Jhain, but, on the other hand, he decided to invest the fort of Ranthambhor also. He informs us that "The Rai of Rantambhor, with his Rawats and followers, together with their wives and children, all took refuge in the fort of Rantambhor,"⁴ But the Sultan "ordered

1 ED, Vol. III, p. 542.

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*, According to Isami many idols seized in the course of that raid were the object of worship for the inhabitants of Hindustan. The Sultan ordered that out of those idols which were the object of worship, a few leading ones be fixed at the threshold of the Jama Masjid to be trampled upon. Further the ruler ordered his men to carry away the entire Hindu Idols to the gate which all, high and low, call Badaun after the city of Badaun, in order that the passers-by should walk over them and that in that passage the Hindu Idol should always be trampled upon by all, high and low. Isami further claims that after some years he saw that these Idols were so trampled upon in that passage that they were defaced, and each was reduced to dust. FS Vol I p. 389

4 ED, Vol. III, p. 146.

manjunks to be erected, tunnels (sabat) to be sunk, and redoubts (Gargach) to be constructed, and the siege to be pressed. He arrived from Jhain, carefully reconnoitred the fort, and on the same day returned to Jhain.¹ But it is very surprising to learn from Zia Barni that the Sultan returned to Jhain the same day without accomplishing his aims. It appears that the task was difficult and the Sultan was convinced that it would not be possible for him to capture the fort and therefore he retired. This fact is further corroborated by Zia Barni himself who states that the Sultan admitted the next morning before his officers "that he had intended to invest the fort, to bring up another army, and to levy forces from Hindustan. But after reconnoitring the fort, he found that it could not be taken without sacrificing the lives of many Musulmans." He further argued "If he took the place and plundered it after the fall of many Muhammadans, the widows and orphans of the slain would stand before him and turn its spoils into bitterness. So he raised the siege and next day departed for Delhi."² But such arguments had no value before the masterful general like Ahmad Chap, who protested and said, "Whenever a conqueror had determined on some expedition, no consideration had deflected him from attaining his object. If your Majesty returns without taking the citadel, the Raja of this place will become proud and your kingly dignity will be lowered in the breasts of men."³ But the Sultan did not pay any attention to it and simply replied by saying that "I am in

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p. 147.

3 Ibid. Text, pp. 14-15.

old man. I have reached the age of eighty years, and ought to prepare for death. My only concern should be with matters that may be beneficial after my decease".¹ He, therefore, boastfully declared that he did not value the fort so much as the hair of one Musalman".² Obviously, by saying so the Sultan only tried to conceal his weaknesses. He then started for his return journey to Delhi via Bayana on the 3rd of Jamadi-ul-Akhir 690 (June 2, 1291),³ laden with enormous booty which "could not proceed more than a mile a day".⁴ On reaching Delhi the Sultan celebrated on the 3rd of Jumadi-ul-akhir, in the palace of Siri, the second anniversary of his accession, with a grand pomp and show.⁵

According to Firishta, however, the king had marched with his army towards Ranthambhor to quell an insurrection in those parts. "The enemy retired into the fort of Runtunbhore, and the King reconnoitred the place, but despairing of reducing it, marched towards Oojein.....He summoned the fort a second time, but finding the Raja paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls".⁶ The subsequent description of Firishta is practically the same as that given by Zia Barni.

1 ED, Vol. III, p. 147.

2 *ibid.*

3 Ghurratu-l-kamal or Miftahu-l Futuh, ED, Vol. III, p. 543; Oriental College Magazine, February, 1937, p. 39.

4 ED, Vol. III, p. 542.

5 *ibid.* p. 543.

6 BF, Vol. I, p. 301.

Soon after the return of Jalal-ud-din Khalji, Jhain appears to have been recovered by Hammira. This may be borne out by the statement of Barni as well, according to whom the Sultan 'marched a second time to Jhain, and after once more plundering the country, he returned in triumph'¹ some time in 1292 A. D. Thus, as we have seen above that the first invasion of Ranthambhor by the Sultan had not been much of a success and he had to return to Delhi without reducing the fort. Here the statement of Firishta is significant that although the fort was invested twice, Hammira paid no attention to the threats of the Sultan. This shows that the ruler of Ranthambhor had become so powerful that he held the imperial army in contempt. The second invasion was also, at the most of the nature of a plundering raid and was confined to Jhain only. It had practically no effect on the might of the Chahamanu ruler of Ranthambhor.

The Invasion of Marwar

Jalal-ud-din Khalji is also said to have invaded Marwar in about 1291 A. D. It was Rao Asthan (1273-1292 A. D.) the second Rathor Chief of Marwar who measured his sword with the first Khalji Sultan of Delhi. It is related that on the approach of the Khalji forces under Jalal-ud-din near Pali in Marwar, Rao Asthan, dashed from his capital Kheda and fought a dreadful battle with the armies of the Sultan. Though Rao Asthan fought well, but he ultimately died along with his 143 trusted men on Vaisakh Sudi, II, Samvat, 1748 (April 15, 1291 A. D.)²

1. I. D., Vol. III, p. 143

2. I. D., Vol. III, Marwar ka Itihas (Hindi), Vol. 3, p. 41-42

The Invasion of Jalor and Sanchor

We learn from Jinaprabha suri that in V. S. 1348 (1291-92 A. D.) Firoz Khalji the old Sultan of Delhi attacked Jalor and advanced as far as Sanchor. However, Sarangadeva, the Vaghela King of Gujrat, came to the rescue of the Chahamanas of Jalor and this forced the Sultan to retreat.¹ It appears the Vaghela King sensed the danger to Gujrat if Sanchor was taken possession of by the Sultan and this prompted him to rush to the rescue of his neighbour.

The conquest of Mandor²

We find yet another expedition of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji in Rajasthan during the years 1292-1295 A. D. According to Isami "when the generous and forbearing king was freed from anxiety about the aggressive hordes, he gave an order to the chiefs to arrange the payment of dues to the army and proceeded forward towards Mandor at an auspicious hour".³

Accordingly, the chiefs arranged to pay the troops, and after having made full preparations, the Khalji army was finally

1 Vividh-tirthakalpa (SJGM), p. 30.

2 We do not find unanimity of opinion regarding Mandor which is also spelt in the Chronicles as Mandwar and some times as Mandawar. According to Edward Thomas it is situated in the Siwalik hills. The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 45. According to Hodiwala, Mandawar is now in Alwar and lies about 40 miles South-west of Kota, Hodiwala, S. H. : Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Vol. I, pp. 393-94.

3 FS, Vol. II, p. 379.

ordered to proceed towards the fort of Mandor. According to Isami, Jalal-ud-din Khalji himself led the army.¹

When the Sultan reached near the fort, he ordered the fortress of Mandor to be encircled completely. The brave Rajputs resisted for a long time. According to Isami the fort could be conquered only after four months grim fight.² The Khalji army devastated the place completely and enriched themselves by plunder.³ A large number of booty including women and children also fell into the hands of the victors.⁴ This invasion of Mandor by Jalal-ud-din Khalji is also corroborated by epigraphic evidence. It was during this invasion that Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji is said to have built a fragmentary slab dated 692 A. H (1293 A. D.) in the Mosque of Mandor.

1 Ibid., TMS, p. 60

2 Ibid., II, p. 370

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 350.

5 Rev B. N. Manohar Ka Itihas Haryana, V 1

ALAUDDIN KHALJI AND HAMMIRADEVA OF RANTHAMBHOR

The Invasion of Ranthambhor by Alauddin Khalji (1301 A. D.)

We have seen above that Hammira had twice frustrated Jalal-ud-din Khalji's attempts to capture the fort of Ranthambhor. This eventually enhanced the prestige and power of Hammira who had already subdued or overawed all his neighbours¹. But the year 1296 A. D. is a landmark in the history of India as well as in that of the Delhi Sultanate, for in that year Jalal-ud-din Khalji was brutally murdered by his nephew and son-in-law Alauddin Khalji near Karra-Manikpur.² This made clear the way for the ambitious Alauddin Khalji to assume the sovereignty of Delhi. The new Sultan was highly ambitious and soon set his mind to the founding of an all India Muslim empire and ultimately his attempts were crowned with success and his victorious armies soon subdued the pride of the mighty Mongol hordes on the one side and of the various Rajput states on the other. Thus within about three years of his accession he reached the height of his power. We learn from the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* that "In the third year of his reign Alaud-d-din had little to do beyond attending to his pleasures, giving feasts, and holding festivals.

1 IA, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

2 ED, Vol III, p. 155.

One success followed another, despatches of victory came in from all sides, every year he had two or three sons born, affairs of State went on according to his wish and to his satisfaction, his treasury was overflowing, boxes and caskets of jewels and pearls were daily displayed before his eyes, he had numerous elephants in his stables and seventy thousand horses in the city and environs, two or three regions were subject to his sway, and he had no apprehension of enemies to his kingdom or of any rival to his throne"¹ "All this prosperity intoxicated him" adds Barni and "In his exaltation, ignorance, and folly, he quite lost his head, forming the most impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant desires"²

Thus exalted with power coupled with arrogance he began to conceive two schemes, one of which was to found a new religion, so that like the Prophet his name also might be carried down to the posterity. He told his courtiers and friends that "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the Laws of Religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of Judgment" He further added that "God has given me also four friends, Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, and Alp Khan, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed, and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion,

¹ *IB*, Vol. III, p. 13

² *ibid.*, p. 13

my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day like the name of the Prophet and his friends".¹

His second scheme was to conquer the whole world like Alexander, the Great. Zia Barni writes that he caused himself to be entitled "the second Alexander" in the Khutba and on his coins.² But, thanks to the experience of old Alau-l Mulk, the uncle of Zia Barni and the Kotwal of Delhi, who interfered in the matter and tactfully suggested to the Sultan to forget about the founding of a new religion. He also gave him a very mature advice about the second project of the Sultan. Alau-l Mulk said, "The second design is of a great monarch, for it is a rule among kings to seek to bring the whole world under their sway .. but these are not the days of Alexander.....and where will their be found a wazir like Aristotle?" The Sultan replied, "what is the use of my wealth, and elephants and horses, if I remain content with Delhi, and undertake no new conquests ! and what will be said about my reign?"³ Alau-l Mulk then suggested him the subjugation of the whole of Hindustan and to curb the pride of the rulers of Ranthambhor, Chittor, Chanderi, Malwa, Dhar, and Ujjain, to the east and as far as the Saru, from the Siwalik to Jalor, from Multan to Damrila from Palam to Lahore and Deopalpur. His duty is also to check the progress of the Mongols.⁴ Alauddin Khalji ultimately gave up his first project and modified the other and chalked out a fresh scheme to conquer the whole of Hindustan.

1 *ibid.*, p 169.

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*, pp. 170-71.

4 *ibid.*, p. 171.

This long description, as given by Zia Barni suggests very clearly that Hammira was not the only 'digvijayin' of the age (conqueror in all directions) but Alauddin, the Sultan of Delhi, had a rather higher ambitions. Thus the conflict between the two monarchs of the age, one aspiring for his mastery over Rajasthan and the adjoining region and the other for that of the whole of Hindustan, was bound to take place at an early date

There is no lack of of historical information regarding Hammira's clash with the armies of Islam. Among the Muslim writers Amir Khusrau,¹ Ziauddin Barni,² Isami,³ Yalya bin Sirhindi⁴ and Firishtha⁵ have given a detailed account of the event. Similarly the Hindu authors have also sung the glories of Hammira and his brilliant achievements. Hammira's glorious resistance and his undaunted valour shown against the Sultan of Delhi has received special attention by these Hindu authors. Among them Nayachandre Suri, the author of the epic, called Hammira-Mahakavya, furnishes us with considerable details of Hammira's fight with Alauddin Khalji.⁶ The Surjanacharita, composed by Chandrasekhara during the reign of the great Mughal Akbar

1 Khazainul Futuh, translated with notes by Muhammad Habib, pp. 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41, also Khazainul Futuh or Tarikh-i-Alai Illiut, Vol. III, pp. 44-76, Ghutatu-l-Kamal Mustafu l Iuth, Illiut, Vol. III, p. 540-543.

2 TFS, pp. 53, 69, ED, Vol III, pp 174-79.

3 IS, Vol. II, pp. 445-451.

4 TMS, pp. 75-76.

5 BF, Vol. I, pp. 337-44.

6 Nayachan'ra was not a contemporary of Hammira. In fact, the Hammira-Mahakavya was written nearly a hundred years after Hammira, but the author's imagination about the war and other historic political career of the hero of his poem was gained on to it by his grand 'guru' (preceptor) who was an eyewitness to the scenes of the grand drama of Hammira's life.

is also important in this regard.¹ The *Prakritapaingalam*² and the *Sarangadhara-paddhati*³ also give a few references about him. Similarly, a few verses of the *Nabhinandana-Jinoddhara-Prabandha*, composed in V. 1393 (1336 A. D.), throw some light on the various campaigns and conquest of Alauddin Khalji.⁴ Other works like the *Hammira-Raso*, composed by Jodharaja [V. 1785],⁵ *Hammira - Hatha* of Chandrasekhara [V. 1902],⁶ the *Balvan*⁷ and *Gadha* inscriptions⁸ also throw some light on Hammira, the last of the mighty Chahamanas. Similarly, the *Hammiradeva Chaupai*⁹ of *Bhandau Vyasa* is also important for the account of Ranamalla and Ratipala, the two ministers at the court of Hammiradeva, who ultimately turned traitor and joined the Sultan. Similarly the *Hammiray-*

1 It deals with the history of the Chahamanas. However, a late work as it is, it should be read with care and caution.

2 It contains a few verses about Hammira which have been noticed by Dr. Sharma : *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 116-19.

3 It has some verses about the Chahamana rulers like Vigrharaja IV, Prithviraja III, and Hammira. Sarangadhar's grand father, Kaghavadeva was one of Hammira's court poets. It is useful for the study of the life at the Chahmana court.

4 'New Light on Alauddin Khalji's Achievements'. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 96-98. We owe to Dr. D. Sharma, for the recent discovery of this book.

5 This is a much later work and is full of exaggerated accounts. But it does not minimise its significance. Some of the facts are corroborated by other authorities including the Muslim writers themselves.

6 This is also a very late work and from the viewpoints of History, it is not very useful or important.

7 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 41-52.

8 *EI*, XIX, pp. 49 ff. ; *ASI*, 1916-17. p. 20.

9 It was composed in V. 1538 (1481 A. D.)

ana of Bhandau Vyasa, the story of Hammira in Vidyapati's Purusa-Pariksha, Hammira Hathate ra Kavitta by Mallu, Raja Hammirade ra Kavitta by Bhata Khema, Hammira-Raso of Mahesa, Hammira-hatha of Gvala, Ranamalla-Chhanda of Sridhara, Kanhadadeprabandha of Pridmanabha and Nainsi's Khyat are also useful sources of information about this King. Thus, there is no lack of historical evidence regarding Hammira and his fight with Alauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi. But before utilising these sources it should be borne in mind that they are not without faults and errors. In fact, their all-out efforts to praise their hero has made the narrative to some extent imaginary. It is, therefore, necessary to examine these facts with great caution before they are used for building the history of the period.

The Real Causes for the Conflict

We have already seen above that both the monarchs, Hammira and Alauddin Khalji, had aggressive designs and had set their minds on the expansion of their respective kingdoms. It was therefore, natural that they might come to clash at an early date.

Among the contemporary historians Amir Khusrau does not write anything about the cause of the invasion. He simply writes that "The conquest of Semnat, Jhain, and Ranthambhor, whose ruler was Pithu Rai, descended from Pithaura, but an hundred hundred thousand times more proud than he"¹ Zia Barni, however, is more clear about the event when he writes "Sultan Alauddin resolved in the first place to capture the fort of

¹ Ashka, ED, Vol III, p. 542

Rantambhur, as it was not only somewhat near the capital of Delhi, but was already encompassed with a besieging force under Hamir Deo. He accordingly, despatched thither Uluagh Khan".¹ But among all the contemporary Muslim historians Isami is the only historian according to whom the real cause of the invasion of Ranthambhor was, the protection given to the Mughal rebels by Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor. When the Sultan heard that the two traitors who had conspired against him in Gujrat and had gone to Rai Hammiradeva he resolved to capture them quickly.² Isami then gives the details about the exchange of letters between Ulugh-Khan and Hammiradeva. This statement of Isami is very interesting and important as well. According to Isami Ulugh Khan sent a courier with a letter to Rai Hammir saying "O protector of the rais of India ! you are one of our friends. Why are you abandoning your friendship from the emperor ? I am told that two of my enemies Qamizi Muhammad and Kabhru-who are really traitors and mischief-mongers and have dug me in the ribs-have crept into your dominions and are still with you. They grew to a stature under my protection but have betrayed me. How can they be of any use to you when they have been treacherous to me ? You should kill them if you are a friend of ours, since friendship and enmity are incompatible. Should you fail to comply with my request, you will have to be ready for war."³

1 TFS, p. 53.

2 FS, Vol. II, p. 446. And For the Mutiny about the new converts see. Ibid, pp. 424-425.

3 *ibid.*, p. 446.

When the letter was readout to Rai Hammir, he summoned the wise councillor, and asked their advice. They invoked blessings on the Rai and said :

“You are aware that it is dangerous to be on bad terms with the Turks, since the world today is under their rule. If you desire security for your dynasty and family, do your utmost not to be hostile to the Turks. You had better surrender those two tyrants who have betrayed their own benefactor. An advice other than this, your highness would be mischievous and disastrous.

When Hammir heard this, he exclaimed : This counsel is not worthy of acceptance. Those who have come seeking shelter under me are secure even against the outrages of the sky. I shall continue to protect my refugees to the last ounce of blood in my veins, even if the Turks from all parts of the world join hands in attacking me. Should I betray weakness and surrender my refugees into the hands of the enemy, I would be disgraced through the ages and my name held in bad repute.

Reply given by Rai Hammir to Ulugh Khan : After this, the Rai ordered his Hindi Secretary to write his reply on a scroll of silk cloth and directed him to begin with the name of God, addressing that angry chief thus :

O chief, I possess enormous wealth and huge army but I bear no enmity to anybody. For fear of their lives two or three Turks have come to take shelter under my safe protection. In these circumstances, how could your Excellency suggest that I should hand over my refugees to their pursuants ? Such an act

on my part would be beneath my honour. Let the matter be dropped since it is very unpleasant. If you disapprove of this reply and hasten to march your troops against me, I also have soldiers beyond numbers and possess a fortress which is more inaccessible than the sky. Come soon if you have mind to fight; it is no use delaying the matter.

When the Hindi clerks read out his disapprobatory letter to Ulugh Khan, he ordered that the war drums should be beaten and the chieftains should set the army in order"¹. It is clear from Isami's statement that the real cause of the invasion of Ranthambhor was the shelter given by Hammiradeva to the new muslims. This statement is further corroborated by the Hindu sources like Jayanaka's Hammir Mahakavya and the Hammira Raso of Jodharaja which will be discussed in detail later on.

Among the modern historians Dr. K. S. Lal suggests : "In fact Ranthambhor was the first state to be selected for the trial of strength with the Rajputs; firstly, because of its proximity to Delhi, secondly, because of the failure of Jalaluddin to capture it; and thirdly, because of its reputed impregnability. Added to these were a handy excuse and a justification. The Mughal rebel Muhammad Shah and his brother Kehbru, the leaders of the mutiny near Jalor, had been given shelter by the Rana of Ranthambhor. Though no contemporary historian gives this fact as cause for the invasion, but circumstantial evidence, supported by

1. FS, Vol. I, pp. 446-448.

later writings, unmistakably does strengthen the hypothesis"¹ S. Roy² and S. P. Basu³ also give the same reasons for Alauddin's invasion of Ranthambhor. "Ranthambhor received the earliest attention," says Dr. Sharma, "partly on account of its pre-eminence as the seat of one of the strongest Hindu ruler, a descendant of the mighty Prithviraja III, and partly also on account of incident which highly incensed the Sultan."⁴ The demand of Muhammad Shah, a neo Muslim leader and the refusal of Hammira to surrender him was the pretext for Alauddin's massive invasion of Ranthambhor.

Although other contemporary Muslim historians except Isami, are silent on the issue, the Hindu writers give at length the description of Muhammad Shah's shelter in the court of Hammira which ultimately resulted into a dreadful war between the two monarchs. Jodharaja who composed his book 'Hammira-Raso' at the court of Raja Chandrabhan in about V 1785 (1728 A. D.) furnishes us with considerable details about Muhammad Shah as also about the shelter given to him by the illustrious Hammira of Ranthambhor.⁵ We learn from this work that

1 Lal, K. S. History of the Khalji, p. 100. However, Dr. K. S. Lal is wrong when he writes that no contemporary historian gives this fact as a cause for the invasion. Ibid, We have already discussed in detail that Isami, a contemporary Muslim historian, is definitely of the view that the real cause of Alauddin's invasion of Ranthambhor was the shelter given by Hamiradeva to the new Muslims. FS, Vol. II, pp. 445-48.

2 Roy, S. The Delh. Sultanate, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 21.

3 Easu S. P. Rise and Fall of Khalji Imperialism, p. 100.

4 Sharma D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 109

5 Hammira Raso (NPG), V. 239-305, Hammira-Raso. JRSB, 1879, p. 192.

'Mir Gabru' the brother of Muhammad Shah, advised his brother either to go to Mecca or "live with Hammir, if that generous Rao will give you house and shelter."¹ Consequently, the Shaikh went, leaving the confines of Alauddin's dominions. He was accompanied by twelve companies of soldiers, five elephants, carriages, servants and young male and female slaves. Numerous camels also followed his train, laden with five looking tents and furniture.²

Hammira received Muhammad Shah well and kindly by saying "So powerful is Ala-ud-din that none has ventured to shelter you from his anger. Live here safe, Shaikh, live here within the fort, under the shadow of my protection. I, Rao Hammir, will defend you, even if my defending you should cost me my life. Need I tell you more?" He further added, "I will give up my body, wealth, fort and kingdom, but be sure, Shaikh, the emperor will never be able to get you,"³

Hammira also gave valuable presents to Mahammad Shah, a bow, golden ornaments, a necklace of pearls, a turban set with diamonds, and a shawl with a Jagir worth five lacs of rupees. A grand palace was also given to him to reside ⁴

Then Jodharaja mentions the long discussion between the messenger of Alauddin Khalji and Hammiradeva. The messenger advised Hammira in these words : "Think, before it is too late.

1 *ibid* , V. 279: p. 196.

2 *ibid.*, V. 280-281; p. 196.

3 *ibid.*, V. 298-299; p. 197.

4 *ibid.*, V. 304-305; pp. 197-98.

The anger of Ala-ud-din is like a red flame of fire which burns all that come in contact with it. His power destroys all who have the rashness to incur his displeasure. See even the gods have fled away, leaving their temples. On the other hand, if you do not give refuge to the Sheik, your friendship with the emperor will become stronger and stronger every day. Why drop in a pot full of nectar? You will have to pay very dearly for your folly," Hammira then gave him a bold and courageous reply "I can never lie. See what will be the condition of that poor, deserted man if I deny him protection. I will draw my sword in the teeth of all difficulties fight with Ala-ud-din and crush his pride. Either I shall be transported to heaven a little early, or continue reigning in my fort of Ranthambhor. Go, there messenger, and tell the emperor that the Shaikh is safe under the roof of Hammir Chohan, and that preparations of war are being made within the fort." ¹ Upon this Alauddin sent another firman demanding back Muhammad Shah and his followers. But his blood boiled when again the proud Hammira replied in these words "Attack me, fall upon me, but I will never send you Muhammad Shah. I have promised him shelter, and for the *monarchy of all the world, I will never break my word*" ²

Alauddin thereupon sent one more firman for the same purpose and demanded immediately Muhammad Shah, the failure of which will cause severe consequences. The reply of Hammira was the same as before. But this time he sent back

¹ *ibid*, V 306-316 p. 198

² *ibid*, V 310-322 p. 199

Sultan's messenger by saying "that your Majesty need not send me so many firmans . . . Go to the emperor and say to him that if it be possible for the sun to rise in the west and waters of the Ganges to flow from her mouth to the source, then will it be possible for Hammir to violate what he has deliberately resolved upon....."¹

When the Sultan received this letter from Hammira he became very angry. But his Prime Minister Mihrab Khan requested Alauddin to send a third firman to Hammira. Therefore, a long firman was written and Hammira was threatened with complete annihilation of himself and his kingdom if he failed to comply with it properly. But the brave Hammira was adamant and stuck to what he had already said. The Sultan's messenger returned to Delhi and reported to the Sultan that "Mighty monarch, Hammir of the fort of Ranthambhor, does not care at all for your power. His cavalry, infantry and horses are numerous. Besides, firmness in keeping their resolutions is a hereditary virtue of the Chohans. You have conquered the whole world and made many potent chiefs and monarchs powerless and humble before your rod, but now Hammir matches with you and challenges you to fight with him. Either he or you must be victorious. I have advised him many times as to the folly of his keeping the exile under his roof. He frowned, his blood boiled with anger, even at the mention of the name 'M'hammad Shah'. "I shall fight with the emperor, face to face" said he. "and cut the imperial forces to pieces. Then at last I will offer my head to the great Mahadeo, that my

1 *ibid.*, V. 325-327; p. 200.

glory may be sung in the world below and the heaven above I have made resolution. How can I break through it? I do not fear his massive arms, I do not fear his fury, nay, I do not fear death, but I fear dishonour, and above all I fear staining the virtues of my renowned ancestors" ¹

It was too much for Alauddin. He ultimately made various enquiries about the strength of Hammira and finally resolved upon to wage a massive war upon him. He emphatically declared "I do not care for the pride of Hammira. In a moment I can bring him to my feet, knock down his fort, seize the criminal Muhammad Shah, and drag him to Delhi. Sure as my name is Ala ud din, I will do all these things" ². All his courtiers and chiefs exclaimed with one voice to wage war against Hammira ³.

Jodharaja further describes that in the council of war which was held by Alauddin before his final march towards Ranthambhor, Mihrab Khan, the Prime Minister, with folded hands, appealed to the Sultan in these words: 'There is a great difference between hunting a lion and hunting a Jackal. Do not think them all one. Why do you increase your anger? Why make much of the malice you bear towards the exile? Because the risk a man incurs by being engaged in a war is fearfully great. He hazards life and prosperity and can never be sure of Victory. If he come off a loser after his best endeavours then all is over with him. The Chouhans are in no way inferior to

1 *ibid*, V 329-362 pp 200-201

2 *ibid*, V 363 p 203

3 *ibid*, V 361, p 204

the Musalmans in martial bravery. The war-like Prithviraj defeated Muhammad Ghor and drove him back to the mountains of Ghor. The bold Bisaldeva committed great havoc among the Muhammadan ranks and obliged them to retrace their steps from the very gates of Ajmir. Do not expose yourself and your subjects to the risks of war".¹

The Sultan felt greatly incensed by these words of the wazir, which he set aside, and the war was proclaimed. "Egypt, Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Khorasan, Rum, Arabia, Kashmir, Iran, Turan and Habash (Abyssinia) poured forth each its quota of soldiers".²

Thus the Sultan collected a huge army, arms and amunitions of war. The army of Alauddin was spread over as far as his (Alauddin's) eye-sight could reach, the unending line of the soldiers "who were drawn up in battle array, with streaming banners, at the call of the muster-rolls. There stood before him bending their heads, Lodis, Pathans, Gohans, Burdwans, Sarunis, Khorasanis, Khayan, Khamis, Sayads, Mughals, Adamkhoris, Chustis and Scindhis, all numbering 4,510,000 troops, horse, foot, artillery and arches."³ Seeing his immense army, Alauddin boastfully declared ".....I will first of all break down the ten walls of the fort of Ranthambhor, make defence impossible, and then burn Hammir with his wives and children in the

1 *ibid.*, V. 366-370; JRASB, pp 201-205

2 *ibid.*, V. 371; p. 205.

3 *Fammira Raso*; JRASB, 1879, pp. 204-205.

very fire which his obstinacy alone has kindled to such an extent' ¹

Alauddin, thus having made all preparations, marched at the head of an immense army in the month of Chait to curb the pride of Hammira Jodharaja further describes in detail the strength of the army of Alauddin. The cavalry consisted of 27,00,000 of excellent horsemen, of whom 700,000 were Hindus. There were 10,000 messengers of war, 400,000 pioneers, 100,000 of writers, 200,000 of merchants, 400,000 of grooms and 100,000 of mendicants, 20,00,000 of artillery men, very able and powerful in the art of destruction, and 30,00,000 of camels loaded with tents, furniture and powder bags, 5,000 elephants one exceeding the other in strength, followed the camp. They seemed as if the dark clouds of the rainy seasons advanced roaring and thundering in their way ²

Obviously, the above preparations of war, as described by Jodharaja, are based on bardic accounts which are full of unhistorical data added in due course of time. Thus, exaggerated though it is, the whole statement cannot be rejected outright, for it is corroborated to a considerable extent by a more authentic work like the Hammira-Mahakavya. That Muhammad Shah, a neo Muslim leader, had taken shelter under the roof of Hammira has also been stated in the Hammira-Mahakavya. That it led to serious consequences and ultimately to a great war between Alauddin Khalji and Hammira. Even most of the names given by Jodharaja are historical and correct.

¹ Ibid, p 205

² Ibid, pp 205-206, Also see Hammira Raso (NPG), v 372-383

However, if we study the accounts of the Muslim writers, they also seem to corroborate the Hindu sources. The Muslim historians inform us that Alauddin Khalji, in the year 1299 A.D. had sent his two noted generals Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan with a huge army to conquer Gujrat.¹ After its triumphant success while the Muslim army was returning back to Delhi, it halted at a place named Sakarana, only 18 Miles from Jalor.² It was there that a serious mutiny took place for the demand of one-fifth of the spoils (Khams) from the soldiers as the share of the state. by instituting inquisitional inquiries about it.³ Soon a dispute arose regarding the surrender of some of the valuable articles. The soldiers were heavily punished who refused to obey the orders of Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan. If Yahya Bin Sirhindi, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, is to be believed, they were put under bellows and made to drink saline water; the use of rods and fists was not spared.⁴ This inhuman treatment was not tolerated by the soldiers and, as Zia Barni states, mostly the neo Muslims openly revolted. The names of the leaders of the rebels have been given both by Isami and Yahya Bin Sirhirdi. Isami mentions four names : Qamizi Muhammad Shah, Kabhru, Yalchag and Barq⁵ while Yahya bin Sirhindi gives Yaljak, Kasri, Begi, Tamghan, Muhammad Shah, Tamar Bagha, Shadi Bagha and Qutlugh

1 ED, Vol. III, p. 163; TFS, p. 23; FS, Vol. II, p. 422

2 MNK, Vol I, p. 158.

3 ED, Vol. II^r, pp. 163-164; TFS, pp. 24-25; FS, Vol. II, pp. 424-425.

4 *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 76.

Bagha as the main leaders of the rebels.¹ Their names indicate that they were all Mughal converts.² They killed Malik Azzu-ddin, brother of Nusrat Khan and Amir-i-Hajib of Ulugh Khan and proceeded simultaneously to the tent of Ulugh Khan. The Prince, however, escaped but the rebels killed a son of the Sultan's sister, who was asleep in the tent, whom they mistook for Ulugh Khan. However, the turmoil subsided and the new Muslims dispersed. Those, who had taken the leading part in the disturbance, fled and went to join the Rais and rebels.³ Barni does not mention clearly at what place the new Muslims took shelter. He simply writes that they joined "the Rais and rebels". But what Barni actually meant is obvious from the statement of Isami, the author of the *Futuh us-Salatn*, that Qamizi Muhammad and Kabhru took shelter under the walls of the Rana of Ranthambhor whose name was Hammira, and Yalchaq and Barq went to Rai Karan.⁴ But the *Hammira-Mahakavya* puts all the four at the court of Hanmira. It has been suggested that perhaps the other two also might have, after sometime, wended the way to Hammira's capital.⁵ Karna Baghela was himself a refugee and it was not possible for him to give shelter to others for a long time.⁶

1 TMS, p. 75

2 Lal, L. S. *History of the Khaljis*, p. 87.

3 TFS, p. 25, ED, Vol. III, p. 164

4 FS, Vol. I, p. 425, *ibid.*, Text, p. 245.

5 According to Haji ud-dabir, Muhammad Shah had 3,000 horse under his command. *Zafar ul Vali*, p. 790.

6 *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, p. 626

It is quite clear from these accounts that what Barni failed to record, Isami supplements it with their names. The name of Muhammad Shah is the same as narrated in the Hammira-Raso. However, Hammira-Mahakavya calls him Mahimashah but he is no other than the same Muhammad Shah, a Sanskrit version of the original name. And Kabhru of Isami is the same as Gabru, the brother of Muhammad Shah of the Hammira Raso.

Thus, it is highly probable that after the unsuccessful mutiny near Jalor, the new Muslims under the leadership of Muhammad Shah¹ retired towards Ranthambhor and took shelter there. This is also borne out directly by Isami and indirectly by Barni. The mutiny was of a very serious nature in which many Khalji commanders and Sultan's relatives were killed and it took complete four days to suppress it.

Although the chief rebels had escaped, their families and relatives residing at Delhi had to pay the penalty. Zia Barni says : "When intelligence of this outbreak of the new Muhammadans reached Delhi, the crafty cruelty which had taken possession of Ala-ud-din induced him to order that the wives and children of all the mutineers, high and low, should be cast into prison. This was the beginning of the practice of seizing women and children for the faults of men. Upto this time no hand had ever been laid upon wives and children on account of men's misdeeds. At this time also another and more glaring act of tyranny was committed by Nusrat Khan, the author of many acts of violence at Delhi. His brother had been murdered,

1 Tarikh-i-Firishta English Translation by Professor Habib, III, 1020 - 278

and in revenge he ordered the wives of the assassins to be dishonoured and exposed to most disgraceful treatment he then handed them over to vile persons to make common strumpets of them. The children he caused to be cut to pieces on the heads of their mothers. Outrages like this are practised in no religion or creed. These and similar acts of his filled the people of Delhi with amazement and dismay and every bosom trembled."¹

These inhuman acts of punishment of the mutineers does suggest that Alauddin and Nusrat Khan were equally determined to punish the chief conspirators of the rebellion. Alauddin treated the offer of shelter to the rebels by the Chahamana prince as an unfriendly act and sent him repeated firmans to surrender them, and on the repeated negative reply of Hammira, the Sultan took the last course to wage a war upon him. Thus, the over-riding ambition of Alauddin together with the offer of shelter to the rebels by Hammira was the cause of the invasion of Ranthambhor by the mighty Sultan. The latter cause however, appears to be the immediate one and, supported, as it is by the Muslim sources as well, this enhances the historical value of the Raso to a considerable extent.

March of Imperial Armies on Ranthambhor

The mutiny near Jalor took place in the winter of 1299-1300 A. D. and a little later the Khalji army made repeated attacks on Ranthambhor, and Nayachandra and Jodharaja give a detailed description of these attacks. We learn from Nayachandra Suri that the Sultan sent his younger brother Ulugh Khan (Suri names him Ullu Khan) to take an army with him into the Chahamana

territory to lay it waste. With great distress, the Sultan of Delhi told his brother that "Jaitrasingh paid us tribute; but this son of his not only does not pay the tribute, but takes every opportunity of showing contempt in which he holds us. Here is an opportunity to annihilate his power".¹ Thus Ulugh Khan marched with an army of 80,000 to plunder and lay waste the Chahamana country. When the armies of Islam reached the river 'Varnansa' (Banas), they found it difficult to march through the pass leading to Hammira's territory. Ulugh Khan, therefore, encamped there for some days and burnt and destroyed the villages of its neighbourhood. When the misdeeds of the Muslim army were brought to Ranthambhor, Hammira was then engaged in religious rites, for he has not yet completed this 'Muniverata.'² That Hammira at the moment was busy in the performance of some religious rites has also been stated in the Surjana Charita.³ So Hammira could not personally take the field and instead sent two of his generals, Bhimasimha and Dharmasimha, to drive away the invaders. They gained a decisive victory over the Muslim host near the river and large number of the Muslim soldiers were killed in action.⁴ But the Muslim army had not yet retreated back and the danger was not yet over. Bhimasimha, on the other hand, underestimated the Muslim army and elated by the successes at the Varnansa (Banas) river he began to retrace his steps towards Ranthambhor to personally report the news of the victory to his sovereign.

1 HM, IX, 102-103; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

2 HM, IX, 104; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

3 Surjana Charita, XI, 63-64.

4 HM, IX, 110-113; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

They were also anxious to carry home the immense booty which they had obtained in course of the encounter with their foes. Ulugh Khan, however, secretly followed him with the main body of his army. Bhīmasīmha, with a small band of his followers had gone ahead, and when he reached the middle of the Hindavat pass, in the pride of victory, he foolishly ordered the Kettle-drums and other musical instruments captured from the enemy to be vigorously sounded. This act had an unforeseen and disastrous consequences for the Hindu general. Ulugh Khan ordered his army to follow him in small detachments and had commanded them to fall on him all at once wherever he should sound his martial instruments, which they were to take as the signal of some great advantage over the enemy. Therefore when the detached parties of the Muhammadans heard the sound of the nagaras, they poured in to the pass from all sides. Ulugh Khan also reached there and began to fight with Bhīmasīmha. The Hindu army was not ready to meet this sudden attack and although they fought gallantly, ultimately they were soon outnumbered and defeated. Bhīmasīmha himself, though he showed great valour, fell fighting in the field of battle. After gaining this victory, Ulugh Khan, instead of proceeding ahead, returned to Delhi.¹ It is surprising to note that Ulugh Khan, after gaining success in the middle of the Hindavat pass, returned to Delhi if he had gone with the intention to punish or to lay waste the kingdom of Hammira. It appears that the first encounter, in which Ulugh Khan was defeated had convinced him that his army and provisions are not sufficient to face the full weight of the army of the Chahamanas sovereign of Ranthambhor, if he, a sect

of it had created panic in the Muslim host. He must have considered his success at the Hindavat pass as a mere good-luck brought about by the foolishness of the Hindu general. He, therefore, decided to return to inform his brother, the Sultan of Delhi, of the correct position ¹

The Hammira-Mahakavya further informs us that when Hammira completed his sacrifice, he learnt the details of battle and of the death of his noted commander Bhimasimha. Hammira upbraided Dharmasimha for not following the Muslim general on the track of his army and helping Bhimasimha in his encounter with the Muslim army. Hammira was not merely satisfied by this, but also ordered Dharmasimha to be blinded and dismissed from his high office, and Hammira's natural brother Bhoja Deva was now appointed to the command of the army in his place. He had also ordered him to be banished from the kingdom, but on the request of Bhoja the order was not carried out.²

This led to palace intrigues. Dharmasimha, thus so mutilated and disgraced, resolved to avenge his humiliation. At the same time Bhoja Deva failed miserably in the administration. He did not prove an able financier and at the time of crisis the condition of Ranthambhor became worse. It was not a good going for him and his enemies took advantage of it. In pursuance of his determination, Dharmasimha contacted intimate friendship with Radha Devi, a famous and favourite court dancer. Ultimately through the assistance of Radha Devi Dharmasimha got himself reinstated to his former post.³

1 HM, IX, 150; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 66.

2 Ibid., IX, 151-155; IA, Vol. VII, p. 66.

3 HM, IX, 156-62; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 66.

Dharmasimha thus restored only thought of revenge. He pandered to the king's avarice, and by his oppressions and exactions reduced the rayat to a miserable condition and made them detest their monarch. He spared no one from whom anything could be got, horses, money, anything worth having. Thus although Hammira earned money for his treasury, he became unpopular in the country on account of the heavy taxes levied by Dharmasimha. In the meantime, the blind minister called Bhojadeva also to render an account of his department. Bhoja knew that the blind man grudged him his office and he informed Hammira about Dharmasimha's scheme, and appealed to him for protection from the minister's tyranny. But Hammira paid no attention to the representations of Bhoja. Not only this, but also on certain occasion the king made some unbearable remarks on Bhoja. Bhoja was deeply mortified and communicated his disgrace to his younger brother, Pitama. The two brothers now resolved to leave the country, and they sought the permission of Hammira to undertake a pilgrimage to Banaras. Hammira not only delighted at Bhoja Deva's departure but he further conferred the post of Kotwalship (dandanayaka) vacated by Bhoja to Ratipal¹

On his way to Banaras, the disgraced Bhoja Deva, along with his brother Pitama resolved that the wanton insults heaped upon him should not go unavenged. Keeping this idea in mind they went to Alauddin's court. The Khalji Sultan was pleased and received them kindly and treated them with distinguished honour, and bestowed upon Bhoja Deva the town and territory of Jagara as Jagir which had formerly been under the possession

¹ HM, IV, 167-76, IA, vol. VIII, p. 66.

of Muhammad Shah, the leader of the new Muslims. Alauddin's main aim in conferring this honour on Bhoja and his brother was to learn Hammira's affairs. The award of Jagir along with presents and honours created in Bhoja a sense of duty and devotion to the interests of his new master. One day on enquiry from the Sultan as to the easy and practicable means of subduing the Chahamana king, Bhoja Deva reminded him of the strength of Hammira but at the same time he informed him that there was a bumper crop that year in the Chahamana country and if the Sultan could but snatch it from the peasantry before it could be stored away, he would induce the subjects who had already suffered from the blind man's tyranny to forsake the cause of Hammira.¹

Alauddin appreciated the advice of Bhoja and finally decided to attack Ranthambhor before the crops were harvested. Nayachandra Suri records that Alauddin sent again his younger brother Ulugh Khan with an army of a hundred thousand (on lac). The Muslim army easily reached upto Hindavat pass when this news was brought to the notice of Hammira. Hammira held his council of war in which it was decided that Virama and the rest of the eight great officers of the state should go and do battle with the enemy. Accordingly, Hammira's generals divided the army into eight divisions and fell upon the Muhammedans from all sides. Consequently, Virama came from the east, and Muhammad Shah from the west. From the south advanced Jajadeva, while Garbharuka advanced from the north. From the south-east came Ratipala, while Tichar

came from the north-east, while Vaichara chose the south-west for his direction of attack. The Rajput army made furious attacks upon the Khalji soldiers who soon found it difficult to oppose them. Many of the Muslims lost their lives and many fled for their lives. Soon the Muslim army was finally defeated and the Khalji commander along with his surviving followers fled from the field of battle, leaving the Rajputs complete master of it. A large amount of booty, and elephants and horses, fell into the hands of the victors. Ratipala, the Dandanayaka, captured as prisoners of war some of the Muslim ladies who were forced to sell curd in the villages on their way back to Ranthambhor.¹ After his second discomfiture Ulugh Khan hastily returned to Delhi and apprised his brother of what had happened at Ranthambhor. The Sultan charged him of cowardice, but ultimately excused him on his representation that under the circumstances flight from Ranthambhor was the only course left to him and that he would avail himself yet of another opportunity to fight with the Chahamanas.²

Hammira was exceedingly delighted with this great victory over the armies of Islam. He held a great darbar to celebrate this grand victory. He greatly honoured Ratipala and conferred on him the title of Mattagaja with a golden chair. Hammira also rewarded other nobles according to their posts and positions.³

However, the neo Muslim leaders Muhammad Shah and his brother Garbharuka did not participate in the victory

1 HMI, \, 30-61, IA, Vol. VIII, p 67.

2 HMI, \, 69-70, IA, Vol. VIII, p 68.

3 HMI, \, 62-63, IA, Vol. VIII, p 67.

celebrations and said that they thought their lives useless as long as the ungrateful Bhoja Deva, the cause of the invasion, was alive enjoying the life at Jagara. The Chahamana king ordered them to lead an army of invasion against Bhoja Deva and his brother. They attacked Jagara, and stormed it, and although Bhoja Deva escaped to Delhi, his brother Pitama along with others was brought back to Ranthambhor as prisoners of war.¹

When Bhoja came to Delhi and apprised the Sultan of the daring attack of the neo-Muslim rebels on his Jagir and the consequent plight of his own, it made the Sultan extremely furious. We learn from the Hammira-Mahakavya that "Already the fire of anger was kindled in the breast of Alauddin at the tale of the defeat his brother had sustained, and Bhoja's speech added fuel to the fire. Throwing to the ground in the vehemence of his feelings, the turban he had on, he said, Hammira's folly was like that of one who thought he could tread upon the lion's name with impunity and vowed he would exterminate the whole race of the Chohans. Then at once he despatched letters to the kings of various countries calling upon them to join him in a war against Hammira. The kings of Anga, Telanga, Magadh, Mainsara, Kalinga, Banga, Bhot, Medapat, Panchal, Bangal, Thamim, Bhilla, Nepal, Dahal, and some Himalayan chiefs who also obeyed the summons, brought their respective quotas to swell the invading army. Amongst this miscellaneous host there were some who came on account of the love they bore to the goddess of war, while others were there who had been drawn into the ranks of the invaders by the love of plunder... ..There was such a thronging of elephants, horses, chariots, and men

that there was scarcely room for one to thrust a grain of tila amidst the crowd. With this mighty concourse, the two brothers, Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan, started for the Ranthambhor country".¹

Barni does not mention the earlier defeats of the Muslim army at the hands of the Chahamanas of Ranthambhor. He probably maintained the tradition of the Muslim chroniclers to conceal the dishonour of defeat of the armies of Islam against the Hindus. He, therefore, starts his account of Alauddin's invasion of Ranthambhor after the second defeat of Ulugh Khan. According to this Muslim historian, Alauddin resolved to capture the fort of Ranthambhor and thus destroy the power of the Chahamanas in that region. Ulugh Khan, who held the territory of Biana, was sent against the fort and Nusrat Khan, who was governor of Karra that year, was ordered to march to his assistance with the army of Karra and the other provinces of Hindustan.² This statement of Barni is practically the same as that narrated by Nayachandra Suri though with greater details

This time the Muslim army easily crossed the difficult Hindavat pass which was the scene of Ulugh Khan's discomfiture and disgrace. They consequently captured Jhain³ and encamped near the walls of Ranthambhor. This statement of Barni is corroborated by the evidence of the Hammira-Mahakavya. We learn from it that twice defeated and disgraced Ulugh Khan

1 HM, N, 71-88, NI, 1-7, IA, Vol. VIII, pp 68-69.

2 Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, English translation by Professor W. Habib in his edition of the *Khazainu'l Futuh*, p. 42, ED, Vol. 177 171-2

3 *Ibid*, p. 42, p. 172, HM, NI, 19-21

advised Nusrat Khan "not to place too much confidence in their power alone. But, as the place was a difficult one, and Hammira's army both strong and efficient, to try strategem by sending some one on to the court of Hammira, there to try to while away some days in negotiations about peace, while the army should safely cross the mountains and take up a strategic position. Nusrat Khan yielded to the superior experience of his brother, and Sri Molhana Dev was sent to propose the terms on which the Muhammadans would conclude a peace with Hammira. Pending negotiations, Hammira's people allowed the invading army to cross the dangerous pass unmolested. The Khan now posted his brother on one side of the road known as Mandi Road, and he himself occupied the fort of Sri Mandapa. The forces of the allied princes were stationed all round the track of Jaitra Sagaia."¹

When Molhana Dev reached the court of Hammira, he was duly received. Then he offered to Hammira, as the conditions of peace "the choice between paying down to his chief a contribution of one hundred thousand gold mohars, presenting him with four elephants and three hundred horses, and giving his daughter in marriage to Alaud-din; or the giving up to him the four insubordinate Mongol chiefs, who, having excited the displeasure of his master, were now living under the protection of the king." The ambassador also added that "if the king desired the enjoyment of his power and kingdom in peace, he had the opportunity at hand of securing his object by the adoption of either of these conditions, which would equally secure to him

1 HM, XI, 22-24; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 68.

the good graces and assistance of Alaud-din, a monarch who had destroyed all his enemies, ..”¹

It was too much for Hammira who listened with impatience the speech of the ambassador and was incensed at the insulting message delivered to him. He, therefore, scornfully told Molhana Dev that “if he had not been there in the capacity of an accredited envoy, the tongue with which he uttered those vaunting insults should ere this have been cut out.” Hammira then sent back the ambassador with an equally indignant reply by saying that he would not come to terms even if he had to accept by Alauddin as many sword cuts as the number of the gold mohars, elephants, and the horses demanded by him.² He was apparently ready to meet the Muslim army in the field of battle. When the negotiations broke war followed. We learn from the Hammira-Mahakavya that the garrison of the fort now prepared for resistance. Officers of approved ability and bravery were put on different posts. Tents were pitched here and there on the ramparts to protect the defenders from the rays of the Sun. Oil and resin were kept boiling in many places, ready to be poured on the bodies of any of the assailants to scald them if they dared come too near and guns were mounted on suitable places.³ The Muslims, on their part, tried to capture the fort by carrying mines to the foot of the fort and scaling its walls, but the brave Rajputs did not allow them to succeed. A serious fight ensued thereafter which lasted for several days.⁴ One day

1 HM, VI, 60-62, IA, Vol VIII, p. 69

2 HM, VI, 63-66, IA, Vol VIII, p. 69

3 IA, Vol VIII, p. 69

4 Ibid

Nusrat Khan, who had gone too near the fort in order to direct the construction of the pashib and the raising of the gargaj, was struck by a stone shot from maghribi in the fort and died after two or three days.¹ Confusion arose in the Muslim army due to the death of Nusrat Khan. Firishta states, that Hammira Deva taking the advantage of the situation "marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected, within a short time, 200,000 men. With this force, he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayin, with great loss."²

The Hammira-Mahakavya also corroborates this statement. It says that after the death of Nusrat Khan and in the meantime monsoon having set in, Ulugh Khan was obliged to stop all further operations. He retired to some distance from the fort and sent a despatch to Alauddin, informing him of the critical situation he was in. He also sent him in a box Nusrat Khan's body for burial. Upon this intelligence reaching Alauddin, he started at once for Ranthambhor.³ This statement is practically the same as in the pages of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and Tarikh-i-Firishta. Barni informs us that when Alauddin received this sad news of the war, he at once proceeded at the head of a huge army towards Ranthambhor. On the way he halted for some time at a place, named Tilpat. Here, however, Alauddin's nephew, Akat Khan, tried to assassinate him but the

1 TFS, p. 53; Also Barni's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, English translation, by Muhammad Habib in his edition of the Khazai-nul Futuh p. 42; ED, Vol. III, p. 172; Also HM, IA, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

2 BF, Vol. J, p. 337.

3 IA, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

plot miscarried.¹ After this event the Sultan marched towards Ranthambhor and fixed his camp there. The Muslim army now pressed the siege with greater vigour though with no result. Then Alauddin sent another message to Hammira saying he was greatly pleased with his bravery, and he would be glad to grant any request such a gallant enemy might wish to make. Brave Hammira, however, replied that as Alauddin was pleased to grant any thing he might set his heart upon, nothing would gratify him so much as fighting with him for two days, and this request he hoped would be complied with. The request was granted and the contest that ensued was furious and desperate in the last degree. During the two days the Muslims lost no less than 85,000 men.² This must have seriously told upon the morale of the Muslim army. Alauddin then pressed the siege with still greater vigour. Ropes were brought from every side and woven into sacks which were distributed to the army to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch.³ Thus, the pashib was constructed and the gargaj was raised. Amir Khusrau states that the pashib rose high enough to touch the western tower of the fort, and maghrabis were put on it and large earthen balls were shot from them.⁴ But the mighty Chahamanas, who were fully informed of the strategy of the Sultan, foiled all the

1 Barni, Elliot, Vol III, p 172 ff, Tarikh-i Firozshahi, English translation by Professor Habib in his edition of the *Khazain ul Futuh*, p 42, footnote

2 H.M., \U, 1-89, IA, Vol. VIII, p 70

3 Barni's Tarikh-i Firozshahi, English translation by Muhammad Habib in his edition of the *Khazain ul Futuh*, p. 44

4 *ibid.*, p 39

attempts of the enemy to fill the ditch.¹ They successfully destroyed the pashib with their maghrabi stones and threw fire from their remparts.² According to Nayachandra Suri when the Rajputs perceived that the enemy, by working underground, has prepared mines, and had attempted to throw over a part of the ditch a temporary bridge of wood and grass carefully covered over with earth, they destroyed it with their cannon, and, pouring burning oil into the mines, destroyed those that were working underground.³

Thus, Alauddin who had besieged the fort of Ranthambhor with a big army failed to capture it. Continuously, Hammira's men were creating panic in the Muslim army and forced them to retire to a safer place. At the same time Alauddin received the news of the various revolts and conspiracies against him throughout his empire which further made his position critical. Taking the advantage of Sultan's absence from the capital and his difficulties in the siege of Ranthambhor, disturbances broke out at several places. Barni informs us that at the same juncture the Sultan's nephew Umar and Mangu revolted at Badaun and Oudh while Haji Maula, raised a rebellion in Delhi. Similar news of the tumult and disturbances at Delhi were also brought to Alauddin.⁴ But he had "made princely resolve to conquer Ranthambhor and refused to stir from this place." The large army of the Sultan was tired and sick of the siege. The season

1 Isami : *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 265.

2 Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz hahi*, English translation by Muhammad Habib in his edition of the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 42.

3 HM, XIII, 39-47.

4 Barni : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Habib's translation, op. Cit., p. 42.

was mid-summer and the rains had already started. They were fully convinced of the difficulties of the rainy season. But Barni tells us that "from the fear of Alauddin's punishment no horse or foot could either return from the army to Delhi or desert it and fly away to some other place. Repeated rebellions had aroused Alauddin from his sleep and he strove hard to reduce the fort"¹. But the rainy season had made the task all the more difficult for him.

Ultimately when Alauddin was convinced that he could not take the fort by force, he tried to capture it by stratagem and trick. Consequently, a truce was declared and Alauddin offered for peace to play his trick successfully. He also sent message to Hammira to send his general Ratipala for peaceful negotiations. Hammira failed to understand the design of Alauddin and ordered his general Ratipala to go to enemy's camp².

The Chahamana king thus played into the hands of the Sultan who received Ratipala with extraordinary marks of honour and offered him valuable presents. Alauddin also served him the choicest of food and drinks and when Ratipala was delighted with such kind treatment, the Sultan ordered the rest of the company to leave them alone. When all had left the Sultan addressed Ratipala and said "I am Alauddin, the king of the Muhammadans, and I have up to this time stormed and carried hundreds of fortresses. But it is impossible for me to carry

1 *ibid*, ED, Vol III, p 177.

2 HM, XIII, 69, Vol VIII, p 70. It further tells us that Ranamalla another noted Commander of Hammira was jealous of Ratipala's influence, and did not at all like that he should have been in service (HM, XIII, 70-71).

Ranthambhor by force of arms. My object in investing this fort is simply to get the fame of its capture. I hope now (as you have condescended to see me) I shall gain my object, and I may trust you for the little help in the fulfilment of my desire. I do not wish for any more kingdoms and forts for myself. When I take this fort, what better can I do than bestow it on a friend like you? My only happiness will be the fame of its capture. With blandishments such as these, Ratipala was won over, and he gave Alau-d-din to understand so. Thereupon, Alau-d-din, to make his game doubly sure, took Ratipala into his harem, and there left him to eat and drink in private with his youngest sister.¹ This was the beginning of dissension and treachery in the Chahamana court which ultimately led to the fall of Ranthambhor. Ratipala, therefore, returned to Ranthambhor with a different motive and decided to act like a traitor. He did not inform Hammira of the real state of affairs in the Muslim camp. Suppressing realities he told the Chahamana sovereign that Alauddin cared little for the losses sustained in the war against him and he was still bent upon reducing the fort of Ranthambhor. He then advised Hammira to call upon Ranamalla in person that night, and persuade him to do his best in repelling the assailants; for Ranamalla, said the traitor Ratipala, was an uncommon warrior but was at the moment displeased with the

1 HM, XIII, 71-82, IA, Vol. VIII, pp. 70-71. At first sight this statement might seem to be a fancy of the author, intended to blacken the character of the victor. But we read that such things were quite possible in the tribe to which the conqueror belonged. A slipper at the door of his wife's room is a sign well understood by a husband in his tribe, at sight of which he immediately takes care to retire from the house. See Tod : Vol I, p. 56.

king¹ After leaving the court, Ratipala went straight to Ranamalla and there, as if to oblige and save from utter destruction an old comrade and associate, informed him that for some unknown reason, the king's mind was greatly prejudiced against him and he was likely to be arrested by the king himself at a certain hour that very day He was, therefore advised to go over to the enemy on the first alarm²

Fortunately, there was a brother of Hammira named Virama who got a scent of the mischief in the conduct of Ratipala He expressed his belief to his brother that Ratipala had not spoken the truth, but had been seduced from his allegiance by the enemy He, therefore, advised his brother to put Ratipala to death But Hammira rejected it and proudly said that his fort was strong enough to resist the enemy under any circumstances³ This overconfidence in the impregnability of the fort proved fatal for Hammira and soon he had to pay heavily for it Soon after these events, both the traitors Ratipala and Ranamalla managed to leave the fort under the cover of night and joined Alauddin's camp

The condition of Alauddin's army was bad enough and regular reports of various rebellions were simply adding fuel to the fire But with the arrival of the two traitors Ratipala and Ranamalla the situation changed and it infused fresh vigour and confidence in the muslim army. In fact, they informed Alauddin that the fort of Ranthambhor could not resist any longer, for the royal granaries had already been exhausted

1 HM, XIII, 83-89, IA Vol. VIII p 71

2 HM, XIII, 130-33, IA, Vol VIII p 71

3 HM, XIII, 90-101, IA, Vol VIII, p 71.

The Fall of Ranthambhor (1301 A. D.)

Indeed, the condition of the fort had become worse. When Hammira enquired from the officer-in-charge of the royal granaries (Kothari) as to the state of the stores and how long they would last? The king was wrongly informed that the stores would suffice to hold out for a considerable time. But soon it became known that there was no more corn in the state granaries.¹ Now the fort of Ranthambhor was passing through a most critical period. Corroborating the statements of Nayachandra Suri, Amir Khusrau also mentions in his *Khaze-in-ul Futuh* about the precarious condition of the fort. He writes, "their provisions being finished, they ate stones. Famine prevailed to such an extent within the fort that they would have purchased a grain of rice for two grains of gold but could not get it".² This statement may be exaggeration, but still it bears some truth in it.

Under such circumstances, it was extremely difficult for Hammira to hold out in his fort any more. Many of his own friends and followers had already deserted him. Therefore, Hammira decided to perform the dreadful rite of Jauhar. He consequently called his council of war and explained the critical situation and then addressing Mahima Shah he said: "As a true Rajput, it was his duty to die in the defence of his kingdom; but he was of the opinion that it was improper that people who were not of his race should also lose their lives for him in this struggle, and, therefore, now it was his wish that Mahimasah

1 HM, XIII, 1.6-38; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

2 *Khaza-in-ul Futuh*, Muhammad Habib's edition, p. 40.

should name to him some place of safety where he could retire with his family, and thither he would see him escorted safely" ¹ But Mahima Shah, true as he was to his salt, put an end to the lives of his wife and children and then expressed his determination to face the consequences by the side of one who, to save him and his relations, had flouted the orders of the Sultan ² Hammira, then, giving up every thing as lost, told his people that they were free to act as they thought proper, for he himself was determined to die charging the enemy in the field of battle. At last Hammira made final preparation for Jauhar and the females of his family headed by Ranga Devi, the chief queen and her young daughter all burnt themselves and perished on the funeral pile ³ According to Amir Khusrau the Muslim army also saw the flames of fire "which rose like a mountain Tulip on the hill" and they immediately knew what it meant ⁴

We learn from the Hammira-Mahakavya that when there remained nothing but a heap of ashes, the sole remains of the fair and faithful 'Chohanis', Hammira performed the funeral ceremonies for the dead, and cooled their manes with a last ovation of the tilanjali ⁵ Hammira then had all his valuables

1 HM, XIII, 149-51, IA, Vol VIII, p 72

2 HM, XIII, 152-55 IA, Vol VIII, p 72, The Hammira Mahakavya (IA, Vol VIII, p 72) and the Hammira Raso (JRASB, 18/9, p 230) both state that Muhammad Shah did not accept the offer to escape with his family and instead he killed his wife and children with his own sword and followed Hammira in his last fight.

3 Har Bilas Sarda, Hammira, p. 44, HM, XIII, 171-185 IA, Vol VIII, p 72.

4 Khazin ul Futuh, Muhammad Habib's edition pp 40-41.

5 HM, XIII, 187, IA, Vol VIII, pp 72-3

thrown into the Padmasara and crowned the Chanamana Jaja as his successor, for his own brother Virama refused to stay behind.¹ While the final battle was to be fought the very next day, Hammira then in saffron coloured dress with sword in his hand, dashed upon the enemy at the head of the pashib with a few of his followers. The Hammira-Mahakavya mentions that Hammira in his last fight was accompanied by only nine of his followers of whom four were Muslim.² But amir Khusrau in his Khazain-ul-Futuh mentions only one or two unbelievers who followed Hammira in this fight.³ It shows that Hammira had certainly only a few warriors with him when he dashed against the Khalji army for his last encounter. Dr. Sharma, however, suggests that "the rest perhaps thought it best either to escape by the dharmadvara or thought it politic to stay behind."⁴

In spite of being only few in numbers Hammira and his followers gave a true account of their valour. They fell upon the enemy like furious lions and this resulted in a deadly hand-to-hand fight. The battle was fierce and took a heavy toll of lives. The desperate Rajputs fell one by one. First fell Virama in the thickest of battle, next came the neo Muslim Muhammad Shah who lay faint shot through the heart. Similarly, other followers of Hammira also fell fighting. Lastly fell the mighty Hammira, pierced with a hundred shafts. Disdaining to fall with anything like life into the enemy's hands, he severed, with

1 HM, XIII, 190-92; IA, VIII, p. 73. For a short history of Jaja see Sharma, D. Early Chauhan Dynasties, Appendix E, p. 116.

2 Sharma, D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 114 and foot-note 37.

3 Habib's edition, p. 41.

4 Sharma, D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 114, foot-note 38.

one last effort, his head from his body with his own hands, and so terminated his existence.¹ Thus fell Hammira, the last of the Chohans. This event happened in the 18th year of his reign in the month of Sravana."²

Incidentally, Muhammad Shah, who had earlier fainted, was noticed by Alauddin, who asked him "what wouldst thou do, if I order thy wounds to be attended to, and save thee from this imminent danger, and after this how wouldst thou behave?" Muhammed Shah, though wounded severely and fatally replied in a heroic fashion, "if I recover, I would have thee slain and raise the son of Hammiradeva to the throne."³

This insolent reply caused him to be trampled down under the feet of a rampant elephant. But Alauddin did not fail to appreciate the bravery and loyalty of Muhammad Shah and ordered his dead body to be buried with honour.⁴ After these events Ratipala was flayed alive.⁵ The Sultan then commanded that Ranamalla should, with all his followers, be put to death

1 HM, \XIII, 276, IA, Vol VIII, p 73. According to the Hammira Raso, Hammira was not killed on the battle-field but he severed his head with his own hands and offered it to god Mahadeva. JRASB, 187J, p 240, Hammira Raso, (\PG), V 902-53

2 IA Vol \XIII, p 73. The glorious fight of Hammira and his march against the forces of Islam had also been noticed by Dr D C Ganguli who has made an observation by citing certain poems quoted in Prakrita Laingalama work on Prakrita metrical science of the early 14th century A D, IHQ.

3 HM, \IV, 10-18, Also for the similar views see BF, Vol I, p 343

4 HM, \IV, 19-20, Tabakat-i Akbari, English translation by De, p. 167 ff, BF, Vol I, p. 343

5 HM, \IV, 21

saying that those who have betrayed their natural sovereign, will never be true to another.¹ This was a befitting reward for treachery and betrayal.

Although the great Hammira was no more, the fort of Ranthambhor did not fall immediately after his death. Jaja who was left behind in the fort by Hammira,² continued the resistance for at least two days more.³

According to Hammira-Mahakavya this event took place in the 18th year of his reign, i. e., in A. D. 1301 in the month of Sravana (July-August). This is quite in agreement with the date given by Amir Khusrau who records that on the fortunate date 'Tuesday' the 3rd Zilqad 700 A. H., i. e., July 10, 1301 A. D. "such an impregnable fort was taken through an exercise of the strong will."⁴ But there is a difference of only two days between the date given by Nayachandra Suri and Amir Khusrau. According to the former the fall of Ranthambhor took place two days later⁵ (i. e., July 12, 1301 A. D.) than the date given by the Muslim chronicler. But Dr. Sharma rightly suggests that "this discrepancy can be removed, if we assume that Nayachandra's date is not of the death of Hammira but of the final evacuation of the fort by Jaja, which, as noted already, took place two days later."⁶

1 BF, Vol. 1, pp. 343-44.

2 Prakrita Paingalam. Quoted by D. C. Ganguli, JIH.

3 HM, XIV, 18.

4 Khazain-ul-Futuh, English translation by Muhammad Habib, p. 41; ED, Vol. 111, p. 75.

5 HM, XIII, 196.

6 Sharma, D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp. 145-45.

The fort of Ranthambhor was ultimately captured but Isami asserts that none of the Rai's family was captured alive.¹ The whole city was sacked by the Muslim invaders. The splendid temple of Bahar Deo (Vagbhata), was destroyed. Many other holy temples and various splendid buildings were also razed to the ground.² The Sultan then assigned Ranthambhor and its territory to Ulugh Khan and returned to Delhi.³ But Ulugh Khan was angry with the citizens and had exiled many of their chiefs. This aroused such a sense of hatred among the people that "he did not enter the city, but stopped in the suburbs (*umraat*)."⁴

Hammira was not only a great warrior, a great ruler but also a great patron of learning and literature. According to the Hammira-Mahakavya he was generous and kind not only to the Brahmans but also to others including the Jains.⁵ Both the inscriptional⁶ and as well as the literary evidences⁷ prove that Hammira showed special favours to the poet Bijaditya. Similarly, the Sarngadharapaddhati mentions Hammira as a pupil of the great scholar and poet Raghavadeva, the grandfather of the well known anthologist Sarangadhara.⁸

1 Futih-us-Salaatn, p 267, FS, Vol. 11, pp 452-53

2 Khazain-ul-Futih, English translation by Muhammad Habib, p 41, ED, Vol. 111, pp. 75-76.

3 Trikh-i-Firoz Shahi, English translation by Muhammad Habib in his edition of the Khazain ul Futuh, p 42, ED, Vol. 111, p. 179, TFS, p. 69.

4 B3rni, ED, Vol. 111, p. 179.

5 HM, XIV, 3.

6 The Balen Inscription, EI, XIX, p. 52.

7 HM, VIII, 124.

8 Sharma, D : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 1

Thus with the fall of Hammira ended the Chahamana kingdom of Ranthambhor and the line of the illustrious Prithviraja III, the great Chahamana sovereign of Ajmer and Delhi. Hammira is one of the noblest and rarest characters in the Rajput history, nay in the whole of Hindu history. Hammira always maintained the highest traditions of his race and when the Sultan demanded back the Mughal noblemen whom he had given shelter, his reply that the sun would sooner rise in the west, but his plighted faith to the fortunate refugee, will ever constitute a piece of immortal utterance and history will ever remember him with pride as long as heroes are admired and worshipped. The man who fights against hope fights because he thinks it his duty.

Nayachandra Suri, the author of the famous epic Hammira-Mahakavya, exhorts him high and holds that it is foolish to think that Hammira was dead as his great achievements lived on 'immortalising his name for ever.'¹

But Hammira was not a man without faults. He had some serious defects in his character. Dr. Sharma points out that 'he had an ungovernable temper and his choice of servants was, to say the least, not good. We cannot also commend his wars with his neighbours with the Muslim danger ever present in the background. Towards the end of his reign, he was rendered unpopular by the heavy taxes laid on the people owing to the exigencies of

1 HM, XIV, 15. The gallant fight and death of Hammira has been attributed by some writers to his persistence. The beautiful paintings of 19th century depicting the capture of Ranthambhor as described in the Hammira Kavya are contained in the Journal of Indian Art, .915-16.

war with the Khaljis.”¹ But the same author overlooking his defects, which were not so serious, admires the nobility of his character in these words “But the admiration for the gallant fight that he put up in the defence of his kingdom, the honour of his family, and the protection of the neo-Muslim chiefs who had taken refuge with him generally puts all these faults into the background .”²

Thus, we may conclude with Jodharaja, the author of the *Hammira-Raso* that “The lion enjoys carnal pleasures but for once The word which has once come out of the mouth of a virtuous man can never be withdrawn The plantain yields its fruit only once The oil which is rubbed over the head of a woman on the occasion of her marriage can never be rubbed again in her life And the firm resolution of Hammira doing what he has once said can never be shaken”³ Indeed there cannot be a higher praise for Hammira than this.

1 Sharma, D. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 115

2 *ibid.*, Also See *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, p. 634

3 *JRASB*, 1879, p. 245. ‘Simha suvana so-purusa vaclana, kedali phali phalat ika vara, Tiriyā-tela Hammira-hatha, ch’rhe na duji vara

निह सुवन सुपुरुष वचन, केदली फलै एकवार ।

तिरिया तल हमीर टट चढै न दूजीवार

ALAUDDIN KHALJI AND THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR

Soon after his accession to the throne of Delhi Alauddin Khalji first consolidated his position in a ruthless manner and after having achieved a singular success in internal matters he set his mind to the realization of his scheme of conquests and meet the menace of Mongol invasion. His plunder of Deogiri in 1296 A. D. had helped him to achieve his initial successes and for the fulfilment of his aims he cast his greedy eyes to the wealth of Gujrat. He, therefore, decided to send an army of invasion to Gujrat in 1299 A. D. and asked his younger brother Ulugh Khan and Vazir Nusrat Khan to lead the expedition. He asked for the passage of his armies to Gujrat through the kingdom of Jalor but the Chahamana ruler refused to oblige the Sultan.¹ Then the same demand was made from Samarasimha of Mewar and, according to the Vividhatirtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabha Suri, when Ulugh Khan marched towards Gujrat, on the way Samarasimha of Chittor paid him tribute and thus saved his country from devastation.² Dr. G. H. Ojha, on the other hand, takes the word 'Danda' of the passage to mean 'punishment' and not 'tribute' and concludes that Samarasimha protected his country by punishing the Khalji general.³ The same view

1 Kanhada-de-Prabandha, I, 23-39.

2 SJGM, X, p. 30.

3 Ojha GH. : Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

is shared by Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri also.¹ But there appears to be no ambiguity in the statement of the contemporary Jaina author and Dr. H. C. Ray rightly interprets the passage that Samarasimha "saved his country from devastation by doing homage to him (Ulugh Khan)"² That Samarasimha conceded passage to Ulugh Khan and his army is further attested to by the Kanhada-de-Prabandha of Padmanabha.³ Dr. D. Sharma also concurs with this view.⁴ In C. 1285 A. D. Samarasimha has stood by the side of the Vaghela ruler of Gujrat when his kingdom was attacked by the Turushkas and protected it. The same event is also recorded in the Abu stone inscription of Guhilas Samarasimha dated V. S. 1342 (C. 1285 A. D.) which states "like unto the primeval boar having the sword for his flashing tusk, he in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Turuska sea".⁵ But Fourteen years later under similar circumstances he allowed passage to the invading Turushka army on its way to Gujrat. There might have been two possible reasons for this change of attitude on the part of the Guhile ruler. Firstly, during the previous invasion he occupied Abu perhaps by way of

1 Raychaudhuri, G. C. : *History of Mewar* p. 60.

2 DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1195.

3 Kanhada-de-Prabandha, I, 50.

दीधी वाट समरसी राउलि, आव्या बटक विनास ।

4 Sharma, D. : *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, pp. 662-63.

5 DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1195, Abu Stone inscription of Samarasimha, V. 46. IA, Vol. XVI, p. 350, For this Turushka invasion of Gujrat also see Haider, R. B. - EI, Vol. XXVI, p. 287; Banerjee A. C. : *Struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the Thirteenth Century* : Bhandarkar, D. R. Memorial Volume, p. 100. *dar*
A. K. Chaudhary of Gujrat pp. 183-84, IA, V. 46. 1957
Ojha, G. H. *Rajputana Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 100.
Rajasthan ka Itihas, p. 204.

price for the help he rendered to his Gujrat counterpart but soon after he was removed from there and this might have made him sore and sullen about it. Secondly, it is likely that he might have taken to submission to avoid the wrath of the powerful Khalji Sultan of Delhi and thus save himself and his country from devastation, depredation and destruction.

In case, however, if his attempt was to save his kingdom from destruction, he was mistaken, for in Alauddin's scheme of conquests Mewar along with all the existing Hindu kingdoms had to be eliminated altogether. The deluge came though not in his time for which he could thank himself. He probably died in 1302 but by that time Alauddin had chalked out his programme to annihilate all the Hindu States¹ and he as is well known had already knocked out Gujrat and Ranthambhor completely. Mewar was the next on the list.

Fall of Chittor 1303 A. D.

After the death of Samarasimha in C. 1302 A. D., he was succeeded on the throne of Chittor by his son Ratnasimha. So far only one inscription of Ratnasimha's reign has been discovered. It is dated Wednesday, the 5th of the bright half of Magha (V) S. 1359 (1303 A. D.).² Soon after his accession he seems to have been faced with a situation which at once demanded from him the highest type of bravery, heroism and sacrifice for the defence of Mewar. The inevitable which had been only postponed during the time of his father soon overtook

1 ED, Vol. III, pp. 263-71.

2 Ojha G. H. : Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol. I, pp. 191-92.

the young king and his kingdom. Alauddin, the Khalji Sultan of Delhi, after having conquered Ranthambhor, decided to reduce the fort of Chittor too. The main reasons for his invasion of this fortified city were both political and strategic. He fully realised that the conquest of the South could be attempted only when the Hindu States of the north had been uprooted. Besides, it lay on the route from Delhi to Gujrat, and as the king of Jalor was in defiant mood to offer a free passage to the imperial armies, the subjection of Mewar was the next choice. Thus, Sultan's political ambition coupled with Mewar's strategic importance in respect of the conquest of Gujrat hastened the date of destruction of the impregnable fort of Chittor and the kingdom of Mewar.

According to Amir Khusrau, the court historian and poet "On Monday, the 8th Jamadius Sani, 702 A. H. (28th Januaray, 1303 A. D) the conqueror of the world, resolved on the conquest of Chitor, ordered his high-sounding drums to be beaten. The crescent-banner was moved forward from Delhi . . . and the sound of the drum reached the bowl of the sky and conveyed to it the good news of the Emperor's determination. Finally, the confines of Chitor was reached. The Imperial pavilion of which the clouds may be considered the lining, was pitched up in that territory between two rivers ¹ The enthusiasm of the army shook the two seashores like an earthquake, while the dust raised by the feet of the troops rendered the two deep rivers fordable. The

1 Probably rivers Berach and Gambhira

two wings of the army were orderd to pitch their tents one after the other on the two sides of the fort.”¹

When the army had surrounded the fort from two sides, fighting between the assailants and the defenders started. The Khazain-ul Futuh states that “For two months the flood of the swords went up to the ‘waist’ of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike ! For if the flood itself rushes from the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill.”²

This description of the assault, given by one who was an eye-witness to the scene, makes it abundantly clear that for a couple of month the assault proved of no avail and the strong walls and the height of the hill which made the citadel impregnable, stood in the way of Sultan’s success. Alauddin then changed the strategy and took recourse to the device of bombarding the walls of the fortress by the strokes of the ‘maghrabi’ stones. Amir Khusrau tells us that “On a hill, named Chatar-wari, the Emperor raised his white canopy every day like the sun, and as is the custom of rulers, attended to the administration of the army. He ordered the eastern wrestlers (pahlwans) to draw the westerners (maghribis). Other warriors began to place heavy stones in the ‘arm’ (palla) of the maghrabi.”³

1 Khazain-ul-Futuh (Habib’s translation), p. 47. For the route of the marches well as the number of the troops employed for the expedition see IHQ, Vol. XXVII (March, 1951), p. 56, footnotes 12 and 13.

2 Khazain-ul-Futuh (Habib’s translation), p. 47.

3 Ibid , p. 48.

That with a view to bombarding the walls of the fort Alauddin decided to raise a huge pile of earth on the hillock Chittori is also corroborated by a tradition prevalent in Rajasthan. Accordingly, as the Sultan had countless treasures, he could pay even in gold for every basket of earth brought to raise the pile. During the long and hot season swarms of labourers carried on endless succession of baskets of earth to the chosen spot, and little by little the pile rose higher and higher till at last it overtopped the rocky ramparts of the fort. This sand hill raised by the Sultan is still preserved and is known by the name of 'Mor Magari'¹

Padmini episode

At this stage we come across the famous Padmini episode one of the knottiest problems of Rajput history which has so far defied all attempts at its solution. One set of scholars feels strongly about the truth of the episode while another set is equally assertive that the entire story about Padmini is a later concoction of poets, and that it may be a good poetic fancy but not history. The arguments on either side are the products of the best brains of historians and or not based on any contemporary evidence. The story of Padmini, as narrated in poems and bardic tales, may be summarised as follows

Padmini, the queen of Maharawal Ratnasimha of Chittor, was a woman of rare beauty. When Sultan Alauddin heard about it, he became exceedingly anxious to possess her for himself and it was one of the main reasons which led him to besiege the fort of Chittor. The siege continued quite for sometime, but

¹ IHQ, Vol XXII, March, 1951, p 57

finding no sign of surrender on the part of the gallant defenders, Alauddin took recourse to treachery. He sent a message to the Maharawal that he would be satisfied with having, a glimpse of the fair lady in a mirror, and, posing to stop hostility and bloodshed on Maharawal's acceptance of the proposal, he along with a few followers went inside the fort for a glimpse of that queen of beauty as well as for negotiations to end the war. The Maharawal and his courtiers, suspecting no evil design, entertained the royal guest and the Maharawal came upto the gates of his fort to see off the Sultan. The Sultan's man, who lay in ambush there, captured Ratnasimha. The arrest of the Maharawal caused dismay and despair in Chittor. In the absence of the king the charge of the defence of the fort was assumed by Rana Lakshmanasimha of Sisoda, the head of the younger branch of the Guhilots. The situation was discussed and debated and faining to surrender the queen they sent to the imperial camp armed men in curtained litters, 1600 in numbers, as female companions of the Rani. They under the cover of parting interview with the Maharawal managed to effect his escape on a fleet horse reserved for the purpose. Ratnasimha thus reached the fort safely while his armed men encountered the pursuing imperial forces and a large number of them including their leader Gora and his twelve year nephew Badal, animated by the sentiments of their prince's deliverance and their queen's honour, laid their lives in the performance of their duty to their king and country.

This traditional account is preserved with slight variations in details in Muhnot Nainsi's *Khyat*, Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Jayasi's *Padmavat*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Prithviraj Raso* and the *Rajaprasasti*. The protagonists of

the Padmini episode find a covert allusion to it by Amir Khusrau in his *Khazain ul-Futuh* when he speaks of the queen of Seba¹ and, according to S C Dutta, 'The analogy between Alauddin's operations against Chitod and Solomon's expedition against the land of Seba would be justifiable only if Balquis of Seba had a prototype in Chitod'² Dr. D Sharma has introduced a new evidence to prove the correctness and antiquity of the episode. He says that the main contention of the writers, who regard the episode as unhistorical, is that it is found for the first time in Jayasi's 'Padmavat' which is rather a romance than a historical work, and holds 'We have now definite evidence from the *Chhitai Charit* to the effect that the story of Padmavati was known before Jayasi's time. She is no creation of Jayasi's imagination. One might rather presume that she is as real as the other two chief character of his poem namely, Alauddin Khalji and Rana Ratansen. The *Chhitai Charit* was written at Sarangapur in Malwa in the Vikrama year 1583, corresponding to 1525-26 A D, i.e., 15 years before Jayasi wrote his *Padmavat*'³ Dr Sharma finally concludes that "the Padmini episode need not be considered as a mere figment of poetic imagination'⁴ Similarly Shri Ram Ballabh Somani has also tried to prove the historicity of the Padmavati episode⁵. He holds that the whole story cannot be treated merely as the

1 *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol VI, p 77

2 *IHQ*, Vol VII, p 297 (For the story of the queen of Seba as given by Sri Dutt, see *JIH*, 19-9, pp 370-71) Among the protagonists of this episode are Professor Habib, Dr A L Srivastava, Professor S Kay, Sri S C Dutt, Dr G H Ujha, Dr D Sharma, Professor M L Mathur etc

3 Sharma, D. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p 665

4 *ibid*, p 666.

5 Somani Ram Ballabh *Vir Bhumi Ch*

imagination of Jaisi, because the Padmini episode was already widely known in the whole of Northern India even during the Medieval period.¹ He further argues that Padmavati's mahals have been repeatedly mentioned in the Amara Kavya.² Dr. G. N. Sharma is also of the same opinion.³

In fact, Padmavati's episode cannot be rejected on the simple assumption alone that it is a figment of imagination on the part of poet Jaisi for years before Jaisi composed his 'Padmavat', the whole event including Padmini and Alauddin's invasion of Chittor have been narrated in detail in the 'Chhitai-Charit, The event also finds special mention in some later works like Hemratan's 'Gora Badal Padmini Chaupai',⁴ composed in about V. S. 1645 (1588 A. D.). A later writer, named Labdhodaya, in his 'Padmini-Charitra', composed in V. S. 1706 (1649 A. D.), also mentions the same story. However, there still exist the Padmini Mahal and Padmini Tal at Chittor which help to prove the historicity of the celebrated queen.

Apart from this set of positive evidence on one side, the character of Alauddin Khalji itself on the other, may prove the possibility of the Padmini episode. We find that Alauddin Khalji was extremely fond of women, due to which his own family life was very unhappy. He was a polygamist which was

1 *ibid.*, p. 38.

2 *ibid.*

3 Sharma, G. N. : Rajasthan ka Itihas, Vol. I, p. 213.

4 Hemratan's Gora Badal Padmini Chaupai, edited by Dr. Uday Singh Bhatnagar, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1966.

the main cause of constant friction between him and one of his wives, the daughter of Jalaludin Feroz Khalji ¹ Besides according to Zia Barni he begot two to three children each year which not only proves his extreme voluptuousness and sexuality, but also multiplicity of queens and concubines The love story of Alauddin Khalji with Mahru, the sister of Alp Khan, as described by Hajiuddabir,² is well-known to historians In fact his lust for women hardly needs corroboration

Alauddin is also known to have made Hindu princesses and queens as wives. Thus, after having conquered Devagiri he forced Ram Chandra, the Yadav ruler, to give his beautiful daughter in marriage to him ³ When the Alai armies, after thoroughly devastating and spoiling Gujrat, returned to Delhi in 1299-1300 A. D., the booty comprised Kamla Devi as well, the beautiful queen of Raja Karan, the Baghel ruler of Gujrat ⁴ Alauddin's lust for women is further corroborated by the terms of peace he offered to Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor which consisted of among others, the surrender of the young and beautiful daughter of Hammiradeva in marriage to the Sultan ⁵ So it is no wonder if Alauddin Khalji had, besides conquering Chittor, also aspired to obtain the hands of Padmini, the beautiful queen of Chittor In fact there is nothing improbable in the

1 TFS, p. 38

2 Zafarul Vali, p. 154

3 Vassaf, p. 212 Tarihi-Mahummdī Allahabad University Ms, for 122, Zafarul Vali, p. 837 Futuhus Salatin pp 20-31, FS, Vol II, p. 402

4 Vassaf, bk. II, p. 448

5 HM, VI, 60-62, IA, Vol VIII p. 69

repetition of the incidents of Deogiri, Gujrat and Ranthambhor in respect of his lust for women, in so far as the peerless Padmini of Chittor is concerned. Hence Dr. Ishwari Prasad is very near the truth who, while writing about Alauddin's invasion of Chittor, says that the "immediate cause of the invasion was his passionate desire to obtain possession of Padmini, the peerless queen of Rana Ratan Singh, renowned for her beauty all over Hindustan".¹

It is really surprising, nay even intriguing, that a court-poet and historian like Amir Khusru and junior contemporary historians, like Zia Barni and Isami, who have mentioned, some times in detail, the capture by Alauddin of Ram Chandra's beautiful daughter, Rai Karan's beautiful wife Kamla and their daughter Deval Devi, are altogether silent about the Padmini episode. However, the silence of Muslim historians even about events of political importance is their national trait if it involves the failure of their Sultans. In the three cases mentioned above the Sultan succeeded in his design and hence they had to be recorded; but had he failed, they could have conveniently ignored them and our modern historians would not have challenged their bonafide. Such was the case of Padmini or that of the princess of Ranthambhor, and hence this utter silence of the Muslim historians of the imperial court. The reference to the princess of Ranthambhor has been made by a man of the eminence of Nayachandra Suri, a poet and a Saint combined,

1 History of Medieval India, p. 230. Also see Srivastava Dr. A. L.: The Delhi Sultanate, pp. 236-8 for the similar, views, and POIHC, 1961 Also see Dr. A. B. L. Awasthis : Padmini-episod Re-ce-aminid in the Proceedings of the Indian History congress, Poona, 1963 pp. 149-5 for a new light. But Dr. Awasthi's, views are not acceptable by the scholars.

who was only two generations behind Hammiradeva, and who had heard about the events of Ranthambhor from his grandfather, a contemporary of the king of Ranthambhor. Now, how can this reference be ignored even if the contemporary Muslim historians do not record it? Naya Chandra Suri was neither a court-poet nor one who could unnecessarily try to immortalise an ignominy in respect of the hero of his poem, for whom he had all praise. However, unlike the events of Ranthambhor there was no poet like Naya Chandra Suri to record the Padmini episode vis a vis the memorable events of Chittor on the basis of near first hand information, and the entire events had to wait for their recording until the Chhitali-Charita was composed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A. D. (1525-26 A. D.) Jaisi was definitely not the first person to insert, as they hold, the story of Padmini in his famous epic 'Padmavat'. His poem only followed about a decade and half later the composition of the 'Chhitali-Charit'. It is quite likely that he may not have been even aware of its composition, for whereas the author of the 'Chhitali Charit' was a resident of Malwa, Jaisi lived far away from Malwa in Jayas in the modern Rae-Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh. Besides, Firishta, who is easily the most critical among the Muslim historians, though not without faults, could not have mentioned the event without verifying its veracity. Similar is the case with Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin Ahmad, who wrote their versions of the event even earlier than Firishta.

Thus late though it is, the recordings of the Padmini episode in the first quarter (1525-26 A. D.) in the 'Chhitali Charit', in the second quarter (c. 1540 A. D.) in the 'Padmavat' and in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in the 'Gora Badal Charit' and 'Gora-Badal-Padmini Chaupai' by Hem Ratna,

i-Akbari and, as well as in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* and, last of all, repeated, though with slight variation, by Firishta, form a set of positive evidence which cannot be treated as mere concoction or figment of imagination on the part of such eminent poets, scholars and historians. To accuse them of concoction and uphold the silence of the early Muslim historians is no logic, atleast no fair logic. In fact this negative evidence cannot invalidate the positive evidence, mentioned above. No doubts a number of arguments against the historicity of the events have been advanced by eminent modern historians, but arguments for arguments' sake is not a new phenomenon and we can not, on this basis, ignore altogether the narrative presented to posterity by the above mentioned authors, each of whom can rightly claim originality in the matter. In fact their evidence cannot be brushed aside lightly, for parts of the events may be corroborated, though only indirectly, even by a reference in the writings of Amir Khusrau himself, who holds that the fort was captured on August 25, 1303 A.D., and though its ruler escaped in the beginning, later on he surrendered and thus saved himself from the fire of the sword of the Sultan.¹ We know it for certain that Rana Ratan Singh died in the thick of war. Under the circumstances how could he surrender after the fall of the fort? In fact he had been captured only once and that was in the beginning of the Padmini episode, and was rescued by the heroic deeds of Gora and Badal and their band of intrepid warriors which ends the Padmini episode. The

1 ED, Vol. III, pp. 76-77; Also see BF, Vol. I, pp. 362-63: According to Isami the fort of Chittor was captured after eight months siege (FS, Vol. II, p. 456). But Khusrau mentions that the fort was captured in one month (*Astika of Amir Khusrau*, BD, Vol. III, p. 549).

testimony of Nabhinandana Jinodhara Prabandha', written in 1345-46 A. D viz, only fortytwo year later than the event, is very significant in the matter. While confirming the victory of the Sultan on Chittor it says that the king of Chittor was captured and was paraded in public¹. As the Maharawal was captured only once by the Sultan, this evidence, which is no less contemporary than that of Zia Barni or Isami, indirectly supports the part of the episode which refers to the entry of the Sultan in the palace and capture of the Maharawal by means of deception. We, therefore, feel convinced that the nucleus of the Padmini episode is as good a sober history as anything can be, and only the embellishments, surrounding the event, can legitimately be called poet's fancy. The mirror or Dola episode in the story, for instance, may be treated as poetic licence, but certainly not the entire narrative.

Dr G H. Ojha,² Dr. K. R. Qanungo,³ Dr. K. S Lal,⁴ Dr. B. P. Saxena,⁵ and Dr. V. S Bhargava,⁶ etc treat the episode as unhistorical. Supporting the views of Dr. G H Ojha and Dr. K. S. Lal, Dr. Banarasi Prasad Saxena writes "A historian, who studies the originals, is unable to find any place for the Padmini legend in the year 1303. Khusrau, Barni, Isami and all near contemporary writers are silent about it. Alauddin

1 V 34.

2 Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol II, pp 187-88

3 Studies in Rajput History, pp. 1-12

4 History of the Khalji's pp 120-130.

5 A comprehensive History of India, Vol V (The Sultan's) pp. 370-71.

6 Madhyakalin Rajasthan Ka Itihas, pp 6 79

captured Chittor and hurried back to Delhi. He forgave Ratan Sen and we have no reason for thinking that he bothered about the Rai's wives or women."¹ Shri Syama Prasad Basu also concludes that the Padmini episode leads us to the only conclusion that it had absolutely no historical bearing.² Dr. K. R. Qanungo observes "In the course of his English translation of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh threw a guarded hint that the insertion of the Quranic allusion to 'Hudhud' the legendary bird who served Hazrat Sulaiman Nabi as the captain of birds of the sky, and had once been absent to bring to Sulaiman the news of the beautiful queen of Sheba, to which the poet compares himself to fit in with his praise of Alauddin as 'the Solomon of his Age' perhaps alludes to Padmini by a metaphor". This he calls "the limit of literary criticism".³ His own reading of the text is different. He says : "I did not trust my own knowledge of Persian against theirs, and so read the passage with the best masters of Persian available in Lucknow. I referred also the relevant passage to professor Wahid Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, Lucknow University, who has made a specialized study of Khusrau's works. Professor Wahid Mirza wrote to me in reply '..... the question to be decided is whether it contains a veiled hint to Padmini. I am inclined to think that the presumption is unwarranted.....As a matter of fact I have

1 A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V (The Delhi Sultanate), p. 370.

2 Basu, S. P. : Rise and Fall of Khalji Imperialism, p. 143; Ahluwalia Dr. M. S. has not given a clear picture of the Padmini episode. Muslim expansion in Rajasthan, pp. 97-99.

3 Studies in Rajput History, pp 5-6.

failed to find any allusion to Padmini not only in this description of the conquest of Chittor, but in any composition, prose or verse, by Khusrau.' This should, I hope, stop any further controversy over Padmini under the shadow of Hudhud" ¹

Dr Qanungo argues further, "The next nearest contemporary historians are Ziauddin Barni, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*, and Isami, who wrote *Futuh-us-Salatin* in verse, in the Bahmani court of Gulbarga. Barni does not make any reference to Padmini, nor adds anything to the facts mentioned by Khusrau. Nor do we find any mention or hint in Isami's history in verse about Alauddin's infatuation for any lady of Rajputana. He mentions eight months in place of six months of Khusrau as the duration of the siege of Chittor. If it is argued that Amir Khusrau could not be expected to mention Alauddin's lust for Padmini, a flattering courtier as he was, the same argument does not hold water in the case of Barni and Isami, who could have no earthly motive in hiding such a sensational topic. If our masters failed to discover any history behind Hudhud in the rhapsody of Amir Khusrau, we at this distance of time cannot make ourselves ridiculous by making Solomon's Hudhud yield a Padmini for Alauddin and Ratansen. As regards Khusrau's statement, 'the Rai fled and afterwards surrendered himself', we have it from Rajput sources that this Rai could not have been Ratansen, the alleged husband of the non-existent Padmini, but someone else of the Sisodia family. This Prince was Ajaysi, son of Chittor's defender Lakhamsi. He was wounded in the last fight with his brother Anantsi

1 Ibid., p. 6, footnote 1.

Ajayasi became the Rana of his ancestral fief of Sisode. This might be due to Ajaysi's submission to 'Alauddin'.¹ The learned Professor concludes that "If Rajput fancy could create Devala Devi within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, it is no wonder that in far off Oudh Jayasi created a Padmini for Ratansen, one hundred and thirty seven years after Alauddin's sack of Chittor. So it appears that by the time of Ferishta, the Rajput tradition took the beginning of the legend of Padmini from 'Hamira Raso', its middle portion of 'doli' story from 'Padmavat', and the concluding portion from some 'Khyat' about Ajaysi (son of Chittor's brave defender Lakhamsi), whom Ferishta has confused with Ratansen".²

With due regards and respect to the learned Professor, K. R. Qanungo, we may point out the basic flaw in his otherwise very elaborate theory regarding the so-called legendary nature of the story that the legend of Padmini is the outcome of the Devala Devi legend as described in the Hammira Raso of Jodharaja. He accordingly ignores the fact that the Hammira Raso was composed in 1728 A. D., nearly two centuries later than the 'Chhitai-Charit' [1525-1526 A. D.] or the 'Padmavat' [C 1540 A. D.] under the circumstances it is impossible to conceive that this Rajput tradition took the beginning of the legend of Padmini from the Hammira Raso, a Hindu "tendency to cut their own nose to spite the Muslim."³

Whatever the arguments for or against, the nucleus of the story as we have concluded above, may be based on historical

1 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

2 Ibid., p. 11.

3 Qanungo, K. R. : Studies in Rajput History, p. 10.

facts Prof M L Mathur may be right in his conclusion that the "historic facts, handed over from generation to generation about Sultan's going inside the fort and his arresting the Raja treacherously provided Jayasi with an opportunity to stretch his imagination to the extent of fabricating that part of his tale which deals with the Sultan's entertainment inside the fort and seeing Padmini accidentally through the medium of mirror and of carrying the Raja as prisoner to Delhi where he remained confined for many years. These imaginary details, made current by Jayasi's 'Padmavat' afterwards, were taken as true and it was presumed that the avowed aim of Sultan's visit to the fort was to have for once the vision of the fair Padmini for which the Rajputs agreed as a condition of his retreat from Chittor"¹ But 'how could the Rajputs brook this indelible stain upon their national honour by accepting this part of the story as true, is a thing difficult to be explained, except that they allowed themselves to be succumbed by poetic fancy which ultimately played havoc with their high sense of national pride and dignity. This is all the more so when we take into consideration the testimony of Firishta who is altogether silent on the mirror episode of the story.

Amir Khusrau mentions the capture and surrender of the Maharawal but makes no reference either to his death or liberation. This may indicate that fighting continued even after the arrest of the king who was ultimately rescued by a band of intrepid and gallant Rajputs led by Gora and Badal. This must have infuriated the Sultan beyond limit and, according to the court historian, 'He ordered that wherever a green Hindu was

found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern, order thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.”¹ This was absolutely in keeping with the temper of Alauddin who could indulge in such general massacres without any scruple.

This fresh attack, accompanied by general massacre of the Hindus roused the Rajputs equal to the occasion and the Maharawal Ratna Simha and most of his brave men were slain in this unequal fight. Tradition has it that after the death of the Maharawal, Rana Lakshmana Simha of Sisodia took over the charge of the defence of fort. The Vyan Mata, the protecting deity of his race, appeared before him in a dream and said “I am hungry, I am hungry, for the blood of kings. Let me drink the blood of seven of these who have worn the diadem and the city may yet be saved.”² In accordance with the wishes of the goddess the sons of Rana were successively raised to the throne and every one of them sallied forth each day at the head of a little band of his heroic and brave followers and laid down his life in the defence of Chittor. But when the turn of the last of his sons came the Rana’s courage failed him, for that meant the end of the family. So he allowed him to escape to Kailwara in safety and offered himself be sacrificed as the last victim.³ However, according to the Kumbhalgarh Prasasti⁴ Lakshmana Singh (Lakhansi) along with his seven sons laid

1 Khazain-ul-Futuh (Habib’s translation), p. 49

2 IHQ, Vol. XXVII, March 1951, p. 62.

3 Ibid, p. 63.

4 V. 180.

down his life in the defence of the fortress, which is also corroborated by *Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat*.¹ But in order to maintain the continuity of the dynasty he might have sent away one of his grand sons namely Hammira to Kailwara or any other place of safety.

The part of the tradition connected with the goddess may or may not be correct, but the heroic resistance of the Rana and his sons and their ultimate death in defence of their country is written in letters of gold. This tradition is confirmed by verses 177-180 of the *Kumbhalgarh Prasasti*'s dated V S 1517 (1460 A. D.)² and the *Eklinga Mahatmya*.³ But before the last scene of the battle was enacted the women of Chittor decided to perform the frightful rite of *Jauhar*. The funeral pyres probably 1600 in numbers were lit and a big procession consisting of the entire womanhood of Chittor led by their sweet and lovely queen walked into the devouring flames with dry eyes and smiling lips. Thus freed from the anxiety of protecting the honour of their women folk, the Rana and the surviving warriors put on the saffron-robe and opening wide the gates of the fort they sallied forth and fought and fell covered with wounds surrounded by even a greater number of their wounded and dying foes on the gates of their beloved citadel. According to Hindu tradition

1 MNK, Vol. I, p. 106, Fn-1.

2 JASB, Vol. 55, Part I, pp. 71-72, EI, Vol. XXIV, Part 44, pp. 314-18.

3 A Sanskrit poem written during the time of Maharana Kumbha (1433 A. D.-1468 A. D.) Not yet published. Saraswati Bhandar Library, Udaipur.

the Jauhar was performed on Bhadrapada Sudi 14, V S. 1360, i e. August 26, 1303 A.D.¹ The Sultan entered the fort to seize the spoils of war but found an 'inanimate city' with smoke yet coming out from the funeral pyre which had already consumed the fairness of the fair thus immortalizing the womenfolk of Chittor for their heroic action no less renowned than those of their husbands. Dr. Qanungo has rightly observed that poet Jayasi has summed up the only unassailable historical fact about his poem at the close of his narrative that the "women burnt themselves in the fire of Jauhar, men perished in the battle. The Badshah sacked the fort and Chittor became Islam"²

Chittor under the Khaljis

After the capture of Chittor Alauddin made over the government of Mewar to his eldest son Khizr Khan and renamed the city of Chittor as Khaizrabad³ Firishta⁴ tells us that the Sultan in 704 A.H. or 1303 A.D., took the fort from Khizr Khan and bestowed it upon the Raja's sister's son Kariz Rai who remained all his life a tributary and sent him presents. But both the date of the prince's recall and the name Kariz Rai are incorrect. Khizr Khan continued to be the governor of Chittor for about ten years and during this period he got constructed a massive bridge on the river Gambhiri and a 'maqbara' outside Chittor bearing an inscription, in persian dated May 11, 1310 A.D.⁵ which

1 IHQ, Vol. XXVII, March 1951, p. 63.

2 Studies in Rajput History, p 20.

3 Khazain-ul Futuh of Amir Khusrau : Translated into English by Mohd. Habib, p. 49.

4 BF, Vol. I, p. 363.

5 Ojha, G. H. : Udaipur Ka Itihas, Vol. I, p. 192, footnote 1.

refers to Alauddin as a second Alexander and wishes that his rule might endure as long as Ka'aba retains its greatness, Firishta also conveys the impression that in A H 711 (1311-12 A D.) Malik Kafur intended to meet the Crown prince at Chittor on his way to South Indian expedition,¹ Muhnot Nainsi informs us that when Jalor's fall became imminent, Kanhadadeva sent out of the fort his brother Maldeva along with his sons to preserve the line. Maldeva began to plunder the territories that had passed into the hands of the Sultan. Thus embarrassed and harassed the Sultan tried to reconcile Maldeva. In the meantime Khizr Khan had been recalled from Chittor sometime in 1313 A D. and on his departure the Rajputs attempted to recoccupy the fort. They even hurled down the Muslim officers from the fort walls. In order to meet the deteriorating situation the Sultan handed over the fort to Maldeva and thus not only reconciled a rebellious chief but also set up a Rajput to keep under check his own coreligionists in their own land.

Soon after Maldeva obtained an effective control over Chittor and kept a large garrison there. Firishta informs us that "he sent annually large sums of money besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5000 horse and 10,000 foot"². To him is attributed locally the construction of the Mal Burj' at Chittor, a massive bastion with chambers under it, midway between the Chittori Burj and and the Mori Tank in the western rampart which was probably destroyed during the siege operations in 1303 A D. According

¹ BF, Vol. I pp 378-79.

² Ibid. p 363

to Nainsi he ruled for seven years.¹ Towards the end of his reign the Khaljis were replaced by the Tughlaqs on the throne of Delhi, but this did not affect the position of Maldeva who continued to rule over Chittor. Maldeva's reign came to an end in 1331 A. D. That Mewar continued under the possession of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq is amply borne out by a fragmentary inscription in Persian at Chittor which praises the Sultan and one Asat-ud-din,² his nephew, who according to the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*,³ was appointed as Naib Vazir by the Sultan just after his accession to the throne of Delhi.

Maldeva was succeeded as governor of Mewar by his son Jaisa or Jayasimha. During the rule of Maldeva as well as of Jaisa, Hammira of Sisodia, son of Arsi or Arisimha who had laid down his life in the historic defence of Chittor in 1303 A. D. continued his depredations over Mewar in order to reoccupy his paternal kingdom. However, in order to ease the situation, Maldeva gave his daughter in marriage with a dowry consisting of some districts of Mewar. It is generally believed that Hammira recovered Chittor from the Sonagaras during the reign of Maldeva's son Jaisa just after the year 1325 A. D. and got rid of the Tughluq yoke by defeating at Singoli an imperial army sent to the succor of Jaisa by Muhammad Tughluq in the very first year of his reign.⁴ But Jaisa was not dispossessed but was succeeded on the throne of Chittor by his younger brother

1 MNK, Vol. I, p. 153.

2 Ojha, G. H. : Udaipur ka Itihas, Vol I, p. 183; footnote 2.

3 ED, Vol. III, p. 230.

4 IHQ, Vol. XXVII, March, 1951, p. 68; Sharma, D. : Rajasthan Through the Ages, pp. 670-71.

Banbir who ruled for a number of years with the title of Maharajadhiraja. This is borne out by an inscription found in a Jain temple at Kareda, dated Pausha Sudi 7, Sunday, V S 1392, i.e. September 23 1335 A. D., which mentions that in the reign of Banbir, son of Maldeva some of his silahadars or military officers Mahamadadeva, Suhadasimha and Chanda, got erected a dome¹. This makes it clear that Hammira took possession of Chittor not from Jaisa but from his younger brother Banbir sometime in or after 1335 A. D. that Hammira captured Chittor from Banbir after defeating him in an engagement at Sojat is also confirmed by its mention in a Khyat entitled Udaipur Re Khyat². However, the occupation of Mewar by the Chauhans also could not postpone for long the final overthrow of the Muslim yoke from Mewar and by means of prowess and political sagacity as well as by bribery Hammira captured the fort of Chittor sometime in or about 1335 A. D.

¹ Jain Lekha Sangraha, Vol II, p 242

² MS, No 16 in Dr. Tessitore's Catalogue of the bardic works, preserved at the Anup Sanskrit MSS Library, Bikaner. Relevant portions quoted in IHQ, Vol XXVII, March, 1951, pp 68-69, footnote 27

ALAUDDIN KHALJI AND THE CHAHAMANAS OF JALOR

The First Phase of the war

The hour of real trial and tribulations for the kingdom of Jalor arrived with the accession of Alauddin Khalji in 1296 A.D. to the throne of Delhi. An ambitious ruler as he was, he set his mind to the conquest of the Hindu States of the time with a view to building up an all-India Empire. In the meantime, Samantasimha (1282-1305 A.D.) the Chahamanas ruler of Jalor in Marwar due to either age or the dealization of the insurmountable difficulties ahead, had entrusted his able son Kanhadadeva¹ with the administration of the state. The latter had hardly been in charge of the administration for slightly more than a couple of years that he was called upon to shoulder a responsibility of an unprecedented magnitude. Alauddin decided to conquer Gujrat and destroy the famous temple of Somanatha in 1298 A. D. and despatched a robe of honour to Kanhadadeva and asked for a safe passage to his army through his kingdom.² Brave and intrepid Kanhadadeva, after consulting his counsellors sent back the imperial messenger with an answer worthy of a typical Rajput. He said, "Your army would, on its way, sack villages,

1 For Kanhadadeva's detailed account see Srivastava, Ashok : The Chahamanas of Jalor pp. 36-55.

2 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG No. 11), I, 28-31.

take prisoners, molest women, oppress Brahmanas and slay cows. This being against our dharma, we cannot accede to your request."¹

As Alauddin had the conquest of Gujrat in mind, he quietly pocketed this affront for the time being and sent his army through Mewar. After having realised its objective in Gujrat the Khalji army, while on its way back to Delhi, decided, under the leadership of Ulugh Khan, to punish the Chahamana for his insolent answer and it marched through the territory of Jalor.² It was at once a challenge to the honour and prestige of the Chahamana prince which he accepted in the right royal Rajput fashion.³ In the meantime things were not going on well in the imperial army which was seething with discontent on the distribution of the plunder among the soldiers. The Khalji commanders used torture and various other methods to recover the one fifth state share from the soldiers and made attempts to deprive them of gold, jewels and other valuables. This made the soldiers desperate, and one of its sections practically mutinied under the leadership of the neo-Muslims.⁴

Nainsi informs us that when the Khalji army reached Sakarana⁵ a village nearly eighteen miles from Jalor, the Chahamana prince sent a message through Kandhala Olecha and

1 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG) I, 32-33

2 *ibid.*, I, 109

3 *ibid.*, 112-21.

4 TFS, p 24, FD, Vol. III, pp 163-64

5 The name of this village, according to the
was *Siraha* (I, 196)

Prabandha,

four other Rajputs to the Muslim general that "You have not done well by staying at my own village under my own fort after slaying and making prisoners so many Hindus and with Mahadeva (Somanatha) as your captive. Do you not consider me a Rajput?" The Rajput envoys were duly received in the camp and while moving about in the Muslim camp they came into contact with the disaffected neo-Muslim leader Mammushah (Muhammad Shah) and his brothers with whom they had some secret talk for a surprise attack on the royal army and came back to Jalor. On the third day, there was a concerted attack on the Muslim army by the Hindu host and the neo-Muslim leaders combined. This resulted in the killing of a large number of Muslim soldiers but somehow the king escaped.¹

The Trikh-i-Firoz-Shahi of Ziauddin Barni also gives a detailed account of this neo-Muslim mutiny in which Nusrat Khan's brother, Malik Aizuddin and a nephew (sister's son) of Sultan Alauddin were slain. Ulugh Khan barely escaped with his life, and the neo-Muslims, when they dispersed, took refuge with the Rai's and the rebels²

The Rajput soldiers obtained a part of the spoils carried from Gujrat, liberated a large number of Hindu prisoners, but, above all, they rescued the idol of Somanatha which was being carried to Delhi "to be trodden under the feet of the faithful."³

1 MNK, Vol. I, pp. 158-59.

2 TFS, pp. 24-25; ED, Vol. III, p. 164.

3 Kanhadade Prabandha (I, 221-22), Ranamalla-Chhanda and the Khyat speak of the rescue of the idol of Somanatha by Kanhadadeva while the Khazainul Futuh of Amir Khusrau, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Barni and the Vividhatirthakalpa of Jinaprabha refer to the idol being despatched to Delhi.

Naransi tells us that Kanhadadeva re-established the idol of Somanatha at Makana and erected a big temple over it and thus saved the honour of India ¹ According to the prabandha he was hailed as an incarnation of Lord Krishna ² In fact, as observed by Dr Sharma "This rescue of Somanatha forms in the popular mind Kanhadadeva's best and greatest title to greatness" ³

The neo-Muslim leader Mammushah (Muhammad Shah) and his brother, Mir Gabharu, took shelter with Kanhadadeva. But they were in the habit of killing cows which the Hindus disliked. Kanhadadeva wanted to get rid of them on this account and when they came to know of it they took leave of him and went to Ranthambhor to seek shelter from its ruler Hammiradeva ⁴

The second phase of war

Samantasimha's son Kanhadadeva who had helped his father in the administration of the state, succeeded him on the throne. He is also called the tenth Saligrama (Dasama Saligrama) and Gokulanatha ⁵ No inscription of Kanhadadeva has so far come to light to ascertain the date of his accession, and although he has been referred to as Raja of Jalor by Firishta in 1304 A. D., it seems he ascended the throne sometime in 1305 A. D., the last known date of his father. The Tawarikh-i-Firishta, while

1 MNK, Vol I, 159

2 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG), I, p. 213.

3 Sharma, D. Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 77

4 MNK, Vol I, p. 160

5 *ibid.*, p. 153.

speaking of the conquest of Malwa and Gujrat in 1304 A. D. says "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panicstruck at the Rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered the place without opposition."¹ In identifying this Nehr Dew, Munshi Devi Prasad says that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawarikh-i-Firishta* has Gatar Deo which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kanir Dev. Kanir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kanhadadeva, son of Samantasimha of Jalor.²

We have seen above that while Yuvaraja or heir apparent, Kanhadadeva had played a leading role in resisting the Khalji emperor Alauddin. He had not only refused a free passage to his armies to Gujrat but had also fought and inflicted a defeat on them when they had decided to return via Jalor. He had thus incurred the wrath of Alauddin Khalji who seems to have slept over the matter for nearly five years. He had perhaps more urgent and weighty problems at and nearer Delhi which demanded his attention first. But when he succeeded in reducing or destroying the forts of Ranthambhor, Chittor, Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara and Chanderi, which were like so many thorns in the imperial apron, he set his mind to the destruction of the kingdom of Jalor which had given him a severe cause of offence a few years back. The imperial army thus appeared once again in 1305 A. D. before the walls of Jalor, and besieged it. Kanhadadeva was faced with a formidable foe, furious to avenge a former insult. It appears, however, that the problem was solved

1 BF, Vol. I, p. 362.

2 EI, Vol. XI, p. 77.

for the time being by AIN-ul-Mulk Multani, the Khalji commander, a man not only of the sword but also of great learning and tact. He seems to have induced Kanhadadeva to visit Delhi and enrol himself among its allies ¹

The imperial city of Delhi, however, failed to offer peace with honour to a proud Rajput, who had learn to be delighted in the practice of arms. Firishhta, the prince of Muslim historians, says "It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew, as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly" One day the King was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms, on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, 'I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the King's troops to take the fort of Jalwur' The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwur, and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisht, the Rose of Heaven ² She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen with his

1 Journal of Ind History, 1929, p 369, foot note 4.

2 BF, Vol I, p 370. Haji-ud dabir almost
Zafrul Vali, pp 783-89.

own hand and the Mohammedans retreated back towards Delhi.¹ Thus, according to Firishia, the first phase of the invasion of Jalor was a failure. However, the introduction of a slave-girl as the commander of the imperial forces was certainly an innovation,² perhaps on the part of later historians to find out an excuse for the defeat of the imperial forces by the Chahamanas prince.³

Muta Nainsi, however, gives a slightly different version of the resumption of the struggle with the Sultan. He says that after sometime of the first clash between the imperial army and the Chahamanas, Alauddin sent for Viramadeva, the son of Kanhadadeva, to Delhi. The Ravala consulted the members of his family on this matter and ultimately sent his son to Delhi. Viramadeva stayed at the court for sometime. One day the Sultan offered him the hands of his daughter who had fallen

1 BF, Vol. I, p. 371. But this statement of Firishia is not acceptable to Dr. K. S. Lal. He argues that "it is really strange that one time he flies to Delhi to pay homage to the king of his own accord, professes unflinching obedience for four years and then suddenly adopts such an insolent attitude that he puts himself and his subjects in extreme jeopardy." *History of the Khaljis*, 1950 p. 137.

The real cause of the invasion according Dr. K. S. Lal "was in all certainty the determination to put an end to the independence of Jalor as was done with the other States of Rajputana"

2 Dr. K. S. Lal does not agree to it and says that "It seems ridiculous that concubine (slave girl) was put in command of an army constituted of brave Turkish officers and men, and they willingly served under her. No contemporary historian gives this fact and the story which appears to be nothing more than concoction of Firishia's imagination should be summarily rejected." *History of the Khaljis*, 1950 p. 139, foot-note 21.

3 Srivastava, Ashok. : *The Chahamanas of Jalor*, p. 41.

in love with the Chahamanas prince on account of his brave deeds. As Viramadeva could not refuse it openly, he went to Jalor with the permission of the Sultan in order to come back again with the marriage party. But this was a mere excuse to escape from the court and when he did not return by the appointed date, the Sultan sent a huge army of five lacs under Mudfar Khan (Muzaffar Khan) and Dauda Khan to invade Jalor. They besieged the fort of Jalor and the struggle continued unabated for twelve years but in the end due to treachery on the part of a Dahiyas Rajput, the Chahamanas were defeated and Jalor was captured. Kanhadadeva and his son fought and died bravely.¹

Thus, Firishta and Nainsi agree that Jalor was attacked twice, but the reason given by Firishta for the second invasion looks ridiculous. If Kanhadadeva was a vassal chief of Alauddin, how could he have dared say to the Sultan to oppose him and depart his arms? As far as the result of the invasion goes, they agree but, according to Firishta, Jalor was captured for the first time in 1304 A. D., which Nainsi contradicts. It appears that when Alauddin had conquered Ranthambhor, Chittor, Malwa and Chanderi etc., he now thought of Jalor to pay off his old scores, and sent a powerful force to invade the kingdom of Marwar in 1305 A. D. But finding the reduction of Jalor difficult, Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, the Khalji commander, brought about peace by a mutual settlement. We learn from the Kanhadade Prabandha, on the other hand, that the imperial army first besieged the fortress of Siwana (Samiyana), situated at a distance of nearly thirty miles from Jalor. Its governor

Sataladeva, a warrior of great repute, prepared for a fight. His forces were reinforced by a strong contingent sent by Kanhadadeva from Jalor. In between the two Chahamana armies the imperial forces were sandwiched with the result that they lost not only their camp, equipage but also their two commanders Nahar Malik and Khandadhara Bhoja. This caused a great rejoicing in the Chahamana camp and the victorious force returned to Jalor.¹

The third phase of war

This defeat of the imperial forces caused the second jolt to the power and prestige of the Sultan. But this made him all the more determined to continue the war with still greater vigour and force. The Sultan continued sending contingent after contingent to Jalor from month to month and from year to year for nearly five years "without being able to injure half a bridge of the fort" of Jalor.² This practically exhausted the patience of the second Alexander of the age and at last in June, 1310 A. D. he himself marched at the head of the biggest army he had mustered so far, came to the fortress of Siwana (Samiyana) and invested it.³

The capture of siwana

Sataladeva, the governor of Siwana, was once more called upon to shoulder the responsibility of an unprecedented magnitude, and he faced it with the typical vigour and courage of a Rajput. He knew it that his forces were no match for the

1 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG), II, 24-57.

2 Journal of Ind. History, 1929, p. 377.

3 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG No. 11), II, 80-96; Khazainul Futuh, p. 53 (translated by Habib).

innumerable Khalji host led by the Sultan himself. But he did not lose courage. "The sent out frequent sorties, bombed the Khalji army with stones from the machines in the fort and threw down the ladders wherever the Khalji troopers tried to escalate the fort"¹. This could have made any general to lose courage, but once Alauddin personally began a siege he rarely raised it, and in a bid to capture the fort of Siwana by assault, he constructed a *pashib* reaching upto its highest point,² and guided by the traitor Bhayala, he defiled the main tank of Siwana with cow's blood.³ This stopped the main source of water supply to the inhabitants of the fort with the result that further resistance became useless. Thus, in order to maintain the Rajput honour even against heaviest of odds, the Rajput women performed with smile on their faces the time-honoured practice of *Jauhar* and the Rajput soldiers, caring little for their lives, bathed and smeared their fore-heads with sandal paste, put Tulasi rosaries round their necks, worshipped *Saligrama* and sallied forth for the last battle, determined only to kill and to be killed in action which they considered the surest pass-port to the heavenly bliss. For three quarters of a day the battle was fought in all its fury until the last of the Rajput heroes fell fighting. *Sataladeva* was the foremost among the killed.⁴ Amir Khusrau also admits that "the besieged were brave and haughty, and they did not fly even though their heads were cut into pieces"⁵. On the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd of *Rabiul Awwal*, the Khalji

1 Sharma, D. *Early Chauhan Dynasties* p. 164

2 *Journal of Ind History*, 1923, pp. 375-76.

3 *Kanhadade Prabandha*, II, 151-15.

4 *ibid*, 153-67.

5 *Journal of Ind History*, 1929, p. 376, *Khazainul Istitah*, Translation 107 *Muharramad I ahad*, 10-54

soldiers took the dead body of Sataladeva to the Sultan and Kamabuddin won the applause of all and all for having slain him. It was perhaps he who led the final assault and after its capture the fort was renamed Khairabad.¹ According to Amir Khusrāu the fort Siwana could be captured after 5 or 6 years of dreadful war.²

We learn from Amir Khusrāu that after the capture of Siwana, the Sultan returned to Delhi leaving behind instructions to his generals to devastate and subjugate the country of Marwar.³ The instructions were followed literally and a part of army marched towards Bhadmer and captured and sacked it.⁴ Another army turned towards Sanchor and destroyed the great Jain temple of Mahavira there.⁵ Bhinmal also faced the iconoclastic fury of the infuriated Muslim hosts. It was then, as before, a great centre of Brahmanical learning and culture, the Brahmapuri of the Chauhans. It suffered a carnage of the worst

1 Idid, pp. 375 and 377. Also see *Khazainul Futuh*, English translation by Muhammad Habib, p. 53. According to Firishta Sataladeva sent a silver effigy of himself to the Sultan with gold cords round its neck and various other costly presents. He is then said to have been restored to the lordship of the fort after the Sultan had divested it of all its riches. The account, as pointed out by Professor Habib in his notes to the *Khazainul Futuh*, is wrong. Firishta has wrongly applied to Sataladeva the verses of the *Khazainul Futuh* describing actually, the fate of the Rai of Warangal (Sharma, U.: *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 164. footnote 30).

2 *Ashika*, ED., Vol. III, p. 550.

3 *Khazainul Futuh*, *Journal of Ind. History*, 1923, p. 377.

4 *Kanhadade Prabandha*, III, 20-21.

5 *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 30. Its author Jinaprabha Suri tells us that the temple of Mahavira at Satyapura (Sanchor) was polluted by Alauddin's army and the image carried off in V. E. 1367 (1310 A. D.) (*EI*, Vol. XI, p. 78).

type and thousands of Brahamans were carried away as captives ¹ Dr Sharma has rightly described that "A wave of horror and resentment must have passed through every Hindu heart, as the fleeing populace carried, far and wide, the tale of these Muslim atrocities Kanhadadeva's sorrow was naturally greater than that of others, but other Rajasthanis also must have felt that their hearths and homes, may even their religion, lives and culture were in danger, if the Muslims were permitted to run amock like this and ravage the country side at their sweet will. Consequently warriors of all clans from Rajasthan, and perhaps even outside it, readily responded to Kanhadadevo's call to arms, with their horses, equipment and arms they flocked on to Jalor, eager to fight against the enemies of their country and their culture "² Kanhadadeva issued orders to destroy the enemy wherever they could be found and the Hindu host, in its enthusiasm to control the fanatical fury of the Muslims, galloped on through Revanti and Dhanasa to Khudala to contact the enemy ³

The Hindu army swooped down upon the Muslim host and they fled for their lives leaving behind their camp, equipage, elephants and men captured at Bhinmal, Sanchor and other places ⁴ In their jubilation the two Devada chiefs, Jaita and Mahipa, who had been appointed by kanhadadeva to the chief command,⁵ raced back with the spoils of war to Jalor to convey

1 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 24-25

2 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 165

3 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 69-71.

4 *ibid* , 73-88

5 *ibid.*, 36

the news of this brilliant success,¹ while Lakhana Sevata, Salha and Subhita, the three other generals with their followers stayed behind in the field of battle, and elated by their easy victory and finding that it was Amavasya day, they took off their armour and bathed in a tank nearby.² In their jubilant mood they sounded a drum captured from the enemy.³ Malik Naib, the Muslim general, who was out for a hunt, heard the sound and hurried back to the camp which had disappeared during his absence, leaving behind the dead and the wounded and the victorious Hindu host was enjoying a glorious bath.⁴ The furious Muslim general pounced upon the enemy causing a bloody massacre all around. The Rajputs fought to the last man and four thousand gallant soldiers with their three leaders lay dead on the field. And not even one was left to carry the tale of this carnage to Jalor.⁵ Malik Naib after having achieved this success carried this message to the Sultan who was highly pleased with it.⁶ In the meantime, offensive and counter offensive on either side continued unabated and the ever victorious arms of the Sultan were still as far from success in this total war as before.⁷

Alauddin then entrusted the prosecution of the war to another general named Kamaluddin and this time they made the fort of Jalor itself the target of attack. It was besieged and for

1 *ibid.*, 88.

2 *ibid.*, 89.

3 *ibid.*, 93.

4 *ibid.*, 94-97.

5 *ibid.*, 98-104.

6 *ibid.*, 111.

7 *ibid.*, 112-157.

seven days the Muslims made all-out efforts to take the fort by assault, but all their attempts were frustrated by Maladeva and Viramadeva¹ who continued their sorties against the besiegers, filled the ditches and destroyed the stockades surrounding the Muslim camp. On the eighth day there was a violent conflagration by thunderstorm which completely disheartened the imperial forces and, finding their position no longer tenable, they raised the siege and retired towards Delhi.² The Rajput forces then delivered an eight-pronged attack by Maladeva, Viramadeva, Ananta Sisodia, Jaita Vaghela, Jaita Devada, Lunakarna Malhana, Jayamala and Sahajapala on one of the Muslim detachments and captured its commander Shama Khan along with his Harem and the rest fled for their lives.³

The fourth and the final phase of war

When this news reached Delhi it roused Alauddin's anger to its highest pitch and he decided to wind up at any cost the disgraceful affair of the invasion of Jalor at the earliest and sent against Jalor an army which was more numerous and better equipped than the previous one and it was commanded by Malik Kamaluddin, one of the best generals of the time.⁴ Kanhadadeva made preparations to face this onslaught and in the meantime he

1 Younger brother and son respectively of Kanhadadeva

2 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 160-70

3 *ibid*, 177-191. Firishah has perhaps ignored this unsuccessful invasion of Jalor, (BF Vol I p 370) perhaps, in order to cover up the disgraceful defeat of the imperial armies, the story of Gul Pansht the dancing girl, was invented later on. It is first found in Tarikh-i-Alfi written in 1535 A.D.

4 Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 60-97.

sent out two forces to arrest its progress. One of the armies, commanded by Maladeva, his younger brother, encamped at Vadi and the other under the command of his son Viramadeva fixed its head-quarters at Bhadrajan and they arranged among themselves to fight the Muslim army on alternate days ¹

This, no doubt, slowed down the pace of the imperial army, but all the same it moved on under the command of Kamaluddin Gurg reducing the territory they passed through and safeguarding the line of communication behind. They suffered heavily in the process but the losses of the Rajputs were also not inconsiderable ² Kanhadadeva recalled both the Rajput generals for consultation and while Maladeva was sent again to continue the fight against the Muslims, Viramadeva stayed behind at Jalor to assist his father.³ Kamaluddin gradually moved on to the walls of the fort of Jalor and laid its siege with so much vigour that nothing could be permitted to move in or out of the fort.⁴ The blockade was apparently meant to starve the garrison to surrender, and in spite of Maladeva, harassing tactics outside, reinforcement continued to pour in from Delhi. In the meantime a Rajput force led by Lunakarana and others made a successful daring attack on a Muslim outpost at Udalapura, a suburb of Jalor and destroyed it including its commander Malik Nizamuddin.⁵

1 *ibid.*, 105-107.

2 *ibid.*, 114-120.

3 *ibid.*, 120 and 142-43.

4 *ibid.*, 148-49.

5 *ibid.*, 158-62.

The condition of the fort inside was, however far from bright Provisions and water supply were running short. But timely rains and the offer of the Mahajanas to replenish the stores averted the danger looming large over the horizon,¹ and the fort of Jalor once more looked as invincible as ever. But all of a sudden the situation took an altogether different turn and where the mightiest of the army had failed to curb the pride and prestige of the prince of Jalor, treachery succeeded in laying low the fortune of the family in a few days. The Muslims won over to their side Bika, a Dahiya Rajput, promising to make him the ruler of Jalor on the reduction of the fort. The traitor led the enemy in by an unfrequented, though difficult path which had been left unprotected and unmanned. When Hiradevi, the traitor's wife, came to know of it, she killed her husband at once and rushed up to the court to report the matter to Kanhadadeva.²

The situation became desperate and in a bold and courageous bid to dislodge the enemy, Kanhadadeva's Samantas like Kandhala, Kanha Ulichha, Jaita Devada, Lunakerana Malhana Arjuna, Jaita Vaghela and others with thousands of the Rajput soldiers lost their lives.³ Kanhadadeva's brave queen Umadevi, Kamaladevi and others prepared for the rite of Jauhar, and prince Viramadeva's coronation ceremony was also performed and he was blessed by his mother with eternal

1 Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 121-40

2 *ibid.*, 181-205, Nainsi also refers to the treachery of Bika Dahiya for the capture of the fort of Jalor. MNK, Vol I, p. 164

3 Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 207-221

fame.¹ Thereafter all the queens, after having taken their bath and performed the worship of gods ascended the pyre to be consumed by the sacred fire.² Probably on that very day as many as 1584 fires were lit in which died women of all caste³ to preserve their chastity and honour as also to allow their men to die martyr's death in defence of their sacred mother land.

On the fifth day of the final assault the Muslims reached the temple of Kanhasvami which they wanted to destroy.⁴ Now Kanhadadeva himself along with the remenants of his chiefs prepared for the final battle of his life in the typical Rajput manner. His samantas stood by him firmly and loyally while death was staring them in their faces and lost their lives while fighting round their master and last of all fell the mighty Kanhadadeva, the last of the great Chahamanas, in defence of his country, with its religion and culture, holding aloft the highest ideals of his ancient race.⁵

The Resistance Ended and the fort of Jalor Captured

According to the Kanhadade Prabandha, Kanhadadeva fell in the field of battle on Wednesday, the fifth of the bright half of Vaisakha, V. S. 1368 (1311 A. D).⁶ Muta Nainsi also gives the same date for his death and mention the names of nearly

1 *ibid.*, 237-38.

2 *ibid.*, 239-40.

3 *ibid.*, 243.

4 *ibid.*, 251.

5 *ibid.*, 252-292.

6 *ibid.*, 293-94.

forty samantas who gave their lives in the defence of the fort ¹ But according to the Kharataragachchh-pattavali the fort of Jalor had not fallen upto the tenth of dark half of Jyeshtha, V. S. 1371 (1314 A. D.) for the life in the fort upto that date was normal. But it appears the fall of the fort took place soon after it. The Tarikh-i Firishta does not give the exact date of the event though it implies that it must have taken place shortly before 1309 A. D. ² Amir Khusrau, on the other hand, omits even any reference of the fall of Jalor. After the occupation of the fort, Alauddin appointed his own Subedar Nizam Khan to rule over the newly conquered territory ³

Kanhadadeva was a man of Character with high ideals, and, on question of principles he refused to compromise. It was this quality as well as his high sense of duty and responsibility that made him a real leader of men and his followers in spite of the hardships and privations brought about by a protracted siege lasting nearly for a decade, served him loyally and faithfully up to the end and quietly and calmly laid down their lives by his side in an unequal contest where nothing but death was the only certainty. 'As a general Kanhadadeva was not probably inferior to his Hindu contemporaries. To have kept fighting against Alauddin almost throughout his reign in spite of his (Alauddin's) immense resources, was in itself a feat and none else equalled or surpassed it. Brave, intrepid to a degree, and sincerely religious, Kanhadadeva represented Rajput chivalry at its best, and it is no wonder that not long after his

1 MNH, Vol I, pp 163-164

2 BF, Vol I, p 370

3 *ibid*, p 331

death he was deified and regarded as an avatara of Vishnu, the destroyer of the wicked and preserver of moral order. His failure was more of a society than of an individual, of a society the members of which, with all their personal virtues, had not the political sagacity to combine and defeat designs of a power which was swallowing up piecemeal the whole of independent India. Kanhadadeva had not that rare statesmanship which enables one to rise above the weaknesses and prejudices of one's age, and become the founder of new and better order. He was a great man in his own way; but we should have regarded him as much greater had he combined with Ranthambhor, Malwa or Gujarat and saved thereby his own independence and that of the rest of Hindu India".¹

1 Sharma, D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp. 169-70.

ALAUDDIN KHALJI AND THE BHATIS OF JAISALMER

First Khalji Invasion of Jaisalmer

According to *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, the army of Alauddin Khalji made its first raid against Jaisalmer in 1299 A. D. on its way to Gujrat¹. This raid is recorded neither by the Hindus nor by Muslim historians. Perhaps it was only a passing phase and the Muslim army ran through the territory pillaging and plundering it on its way.

Since Alauddin Khalji was busy in operating against other important regions of Rajasthan like Ranthambhor and Chittor he could not launch any fresh expedition to Jaisalmer for the next few years. In the meantime Jaitrasimha I was succeeded on the throne of Jaisalmer by his younger brother Lakhanasena (1303-1307 A. D.) who ruled peacefully. According to Nainsi he married a daughter of Kanhadadeva, the Chahamanas ruler of Jalor². Lakhanasena ruled for nearly four years³. Though Nainsi assigns him a longer reign of 18 years⁴.

1 *Tarikh-i-Masumi*: Text, p. 44

2 *MNH*, Vol. II, pp. 234-85

3 Sharma, D. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 680, footnote 1, of page 681

4 *MNH*, Vol. II, p. 234.

Lakhanasena was succeeded by his son Punyapala (1307 A. D.). He seems to have ruled only for six months and was then deposed by the Bhatias for his incestuous relations with his step-mother.¹ No Khalji invasion took place during his short reign of six months.

Jaitrasimha II (1307-1308)

Jaitrasimha II was the grandson of Chachigadeva and son of Tejarava and thus an uncle of Punyapala. According to Tod he was called from Gujrat and seated on the throne of Jaisalmer.² According to Nainsi he ruled for 18 years 6 months and 6 days.³ But we are inclined to think that the author of the Khyat has mixed up and confused the reign periods of Jaitrasimha I and Jaitrasimha II. He writes that the former lived a long life but does not assign any definite period of reign to him. As we have seen above, Jaitrasimha I was reigning over Jaisalmer in 1300 A. D. and his father Karna was on the throne in 1283 A. D.⁴ So the period of 18 years and 6 months' rule can be with better justification, assigned to Jaitrasimha I and not to Jaitrasimha II. The latter, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed a much shorter reign on account of the Khalji invasion which took place in 1308 A. D. and Jaitrasimha II died during the operations.⁵

1 Ibid., p. 287.

2 Ibid., p. 287. footnote 1.

3 Ibid., p. 288.

4 Kharataragachchha brihad gurvavali, p. 58.

5 MNK, II, p. 295,

First Siege of Jaisalmer

The bardic tradition describes two invasions of Jaisalmer by the Khaljis the first one in 1286 A D and the second in 1295 A D For the first invasion they give the name of Sultan Alauddin and for the next, that of Sultan Jalal-ud-din¹ The mistake in the interchange of names of the Sultan may be due to the tradition being maintained orally from generation to generation As regards the dates there is a difference of nine years in between the two raids We have seen above that according to Masumi, the first Khalji raid of Jaisalmer took place in 1299 A D when the Khalji army was on its way to the famous Gujrat expedition² According to four Jaisalmer inscriptions, dated in the Bhatika year 685 (V S 1365 or 1308 A D), which commemorate the deaths of a number of heroic Rajputs who fell fighting in defence of cows and women³ against the Kharparas (Muslims), the second siege of the fort took place in 1308 A D These two recorded raids took place at an interval of nine years So the bardic tradition in respect of the gap of nine years (1286 and 1295 A D) in between the two Khalji raids is correct It appears in due course of time, while maintaining the oral tradition, the bards still remembered the gap of nine years between the two Khalji raids but either they forgot or confused the initial year and placed the first raid not in 1299 A D which is correct, but 13 years earlier in 1286 A D which falls not in the reign of Sultan Jalal ud din Khalji (1290-96 A D) but in

1 CII, Vol III p 532

2 Tarikh-i-Masumi (Text) p 44.

3 Sharma, D Rajasthan Through the Ages, pp

that of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266-8J A. D.) who belonged to the line of Slave Sultan of Delhi, and a raid during the latter's reign, if at all it took place for which there is absolutely no possibility, could not have been associated with the name of any of the Khalji Sultans. Thus the initial mistake regarding the date of the first raid viciated the second date also which is less by 13 years being in 1295 A. D. instead of 1308 A. D., which is correct. These anachronisms cannot be called a 'wilful perversion' of facts, nor on those grounds it can be held that Jaisalmer was never invaded in the time of Alauddin Khalji.¹

Muhnot Nainsi describes in some detail the siege of Jaisalmer by the Khalji Sultan Alauddin which may be summarised as under;

Jaitasi had two sons, namely Mularaja and Ratnasimha, who were determined to pick up quarrel with the Delhi Sultan even against the sane advice of the chief minister Vikamsi (Vikramasimha) and they offended him by robbing a Muslim prince passing through the territory of Jaisalmer. The furious Sultan then sent his general Kamldin² (Kamaluddin Gurg) with a force of 7000 to reduce the fort. When two or three years passed without success, Malik Kesar was sent with a reinforcement, He was also accompanied by Malik Kapur. Malik Kapur tried to take the fort by means of a frontal attack which failed and proved very costly to the Muslim army which suffered

1 CHI, Vol. III, p. 532.

2 According to Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat this Kamaldin was Kafur. which is not correct. MNK, Vol II, p. 291.

heavy losses in men and materials. Malik Kesar was also killed in the engagement and Malik Kapur along with the rest of the army, fled from the field of battle.¹ Alauddin again sent Kamaludin with an army of 80,000 which invested the fort closely. In the meantime lack of provision inside the fort, mutual dissensions and desertion made the situation even worse for the Bhatias. During the course of the siege Jaitrasimha died. He was then succeeded by his son Mularaja who also died early, having ruled for only one year and seven months. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ratnasimha. The siege lasted for twelve years and ultimately the fort was reduced. Ratnasimha also probably died during the siege because his name does not appear in the list who surrendered themselves to the Muslim general when the fort was captured by Kamaludin.²

That Jaisalmer was reduced by Alauddin may also be borne out by epigraphic evidence. We learn from Dr. D. Sharma that "We have no less than four inscriptions in the Bhatika year 685 (V. 1365, or 1308 A. D.) which commemorate the death of a number of heroic Rajputs who fell fighting in the defence of cows and women." Then further referring to a particular inscription he says, "It shows that in spite of the best efforts of these valiant people, the *Kharparas* (Muslims) succeeded in capturing horses and a few other things, the nature of which is not clear. 1308 A. D. may, therefore, have been the year when the Khaljis reached Jaisalmer, sacking and pillaging towns and villages on the way."³

1 MNK, Vol II, pp 291-95

2 *ibid* pp 288-97. The *Khyat* mentions it elsewhere that Ratnasimha died during the siege of the fort (*ibid*, p 293)

3 Sharma D. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, pp 684-85

The details of the siege of Jaisalmer, as given by Nainsi, may be defective and even devoid of historical or chronological sequence. The twelve years' duration of the siege is also incorrect, for it is quite clear from the statement of the Khyat itself that Jaitrasimha died¹ in the early stage of the siege and thereafter his son Mularaja took over the charge of the defence. He is said to have ruled for one year and seven months and, while sending out of the fort Ghatasi and others, he led the last sortie against the besiegers and fell fighting along with 120 of his companions. *The fort was then captured by the Muslim general.* This makes it evident that the siege, far from lasting twelve years, lasted even less than two years. The duration may have been even shorter because the besieged were soon short of provisions inside the fort which forced them the last sortie which meant their death. under the circumstances the duration of the siege may not have been for more than a year and by the year 1309 A. D. it would have been over. As regards the main personages of the siege on either side, their historicity cannot be questioned. Among the besieged Jaitrasimha, Mularaja, Ratnasimha, Duda, Ghatasimha and Devaraja are known from inscriptions.² on the other side, Malik Kapur is the famous Malik Kafur Hazardinari and Kamaldin is Kamaludding Gurg, One of the most notable generals of Alauddin Khalji, who took part in many siege of the forts of Rajsthan during the reign of the Khalji Sultan.

1 MNK, Vol. II, p. 295. The Khyat elsewhere says that he burnt himself to death on account of the misbehaviour of his sons.

2 Tasmin Sri-Yadavavamse Raula-Sri-Jaitasimha-Mularaja-Ratnasimha-Raula-Sri-Duda-Raula-Sri-Ghatasimha-Mularajaputra Devaraja-namanorajanobhuvan (Sambhavanatha Temple Inscription V. S. 14971, 440 A. D.).

Rawal Duda (1309-1331 A. D.)

According to the Sambhavanatha temple inscription, dated V S 1497 (440 A. D.) Ratnasimha was succeeded on the throne of Jaisalmer by Rawal Duda and the latter by Ghatasimha ¹ This Duda was the great grandson of Rao Kalhana. Duda was with Mularaja and Ratnasimha when the fort was besieged in 1308 A. D. by the Khalji general Kamaluddin Gurg, but he soon deserted them. The insertion of his name between Ratnasimha and Ghatasimha as ruler of Jaisalmer is significant because he was not in direct succession and, secondly he was a deserter. It appears that after its capture, the fort of Jaisalmer remained for sometime in the hands of the Muslims, but towards the closing years of the reign of Alauddin Khalji when the political condition at Delhi began to deteriorate and due to his illness and other maladies the Sultan began to lose his grip over the imperial administration, and court intrigues became rampant, the Muslim army of occupation might have been recalled from Jaisalmer. We learn from Muta Nainsi that the fort thus being vacant, Rawal Maladeva and his son Jagamala made attempts to occupy it. When Duda and his younger brother Tiloksi, who were then residing at Parkar, came to know of it they hurried to the fort and occupied it and also took possession of the entire provisions sent there in advance by Jagamala. When the latter came there, the Yadava princes informed him that the fort was theirs and they had taken possession of it. Jagamala went back disappointed. Duda then ascended the throne of Jaisalmer. He was a brave Rajput ²

1 *ibid.*

2 *MNH*, Vol II, p 299

Besides this traditional version of the occupation of the desert fort by Duda, there may be yet another possibility about its possession. Just as Maladeva Sonagara was entrusted with the government of Mewar on the recall of the heir-apparent Khizr Khan from Chittor in C. 1313 A. D. when the political situation at Delhi demanded the presence of the prince at the imperial court. Similarly when the royal troops were recalled from Jaisalmer under the same situation and almost at the same time, Rawal Duda, who had broken away from Jaisalmer at the time of its siege, might have been put up by the Sultan in the charge of the fort of Jaisalmer as much by way of reward for his desertion of the ruling family as on the basis of political expediency to create a rift among the Rajputs. Later on, he might have declared his independence of the Sultanate. This may perhaps explain the inclusion of his name in the list of the rulers of Jaisalmer, even though Ratnasimha, who died during the siege of the fort, had a son, named Ghatasimha, to succeed him on the throne of Jaisalmer. In all likelihood Rawal Duda might have taken over the government of the desert kingdom sometime in 1213 A. D. or a year later at the latest. We have no epigraphic evidence regarding the date of Duda, but Ghatasimha, who succeeded him, is known to have died in 1361 A. D.¹ On the basis of bardic traditions if we assign to Ghatasimha a reign if we assign to Ghatasimha a reign period of 30 years,² the period of Duda's rule, who preceded him, can be conveniently fixed up between 1313 and 1331 A. D.

1 IHQ, Vol. XXXV, p. 230.

2 Sharma, D. : Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 686 and also footnote 3.

Second siege of Jaisalmer

According to Muhnot Nainsi, the second siege of Jaisalmer took place during the reign of Rawal Duda. It is said that Duda's younger brother Tiloksi pillaged the territories of the Sultan and extended his raids even as far as Kangara and Lahore. Once he carried off the horses of the Sultan when they were being sent to be watered. Thus, when the Yadavas committed many such acts of pillage and plunder, the imperial army was sent to subdue their rebellious activities and it besieged the fort of Jaisalmer. The war started and Duda defended the fort. The siege continued for twelve years but the fort could not be reduced. Ultimately, a Bhati chief, Bhimadeva by name, joined the imperial force and gave out to the Muslim commander the secrets of the fort. The Muslim army was intending to take off the siege but on getting the secret that the fort was running short of provisions, it invested the fort with greater vigour and force, and this attempt yielded the desired effect. Rawal Duda and his brother Tiloksi decided to lay down their lives in the defence of the fort. The women folk of Jaisalmer committed Jauhar to maintain their honour and the next day the Rajputs fought their last battle. Rawal Duda and his brother along with hundreds of Rajputs flung open the gates of the fort and laid down their lives in a heroic fight.¹

This traditional account of the second siege of the fort is confirmed by an epigraphic evidence. We learn from the Parsvanatha temple inscription of Jaisalmer, dated V. S. 1473 (1416 A. D.) that the Muslims were forcibly deprived of Jaisalmer

1 MNK, Vol. II, pp 300-7.

by the great warrior Ghatasimha, the son of Ratnasimha.¹ As Ghatasimha succeeded Duda, it is obvious that the Muslims occupied the fort during the reign of the latter and the former reconquered it from them.

Nainsi does not mention the name of the Delhi Sultan during whose reign the second siege of the fort of Jaisalmer took place, nor does he mention its date. The inscription is also silent about it.

While Duda was in occupation of the fort, five Sultans ruled over Delhi. They were Alauddin (1296-1316 A. D.), Qutb-uddin Mubarak Shah (1316-1320 A. D.), Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320 A. D.), Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320-1325 A. D.) and Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.). Among these, the Sultan, who reconquered Jaisalmer, may not have been Alauddin Khalji whose failing health together with intrigues at the royal court prevented him from any fresh conquest or expedition during the closing period of his reign. His son and successor the young Qutb-uddin Mubarak Shah, though vigorous and energetic in the beginning of his reign, was perhaps not inclined to reclaim a desert kingdom which involved not only heavy cost in men and materials but also considerable difficulties in the process. Any such attempt during the short reign of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320 A. D.), on the other hand, was unthinkable. It is highly likely, therefore, that an attempt to recapture the fort might have been made during the reign of either Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq who was at the time of his accession to the throne in 1320 A. D. quite keen to maintain the fallen prestige of the

1 IHQ, Vol. XI, pp. 150-51.

Sultanate by keeping under his control the entire empire which had been ruled over by the Khaljis or his son and successor Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq who was in no way less imperialist or ambitious than Alauddin Khalji and who started with a vigorous policy of bringing under his sway all the provinces which had once formed parts of the Delhi Sultanate Jaisalmer, therefore could not have been spared and it is highly likely that during the early part of the reign of the young Sultan the fort was once more occupied by the Muslims and Duda, the Bhati ruler, laid down his life in its defence along with a large number of his kinsmen and their women-folk burnt themselves alive by committing Jauhar. But after a decade's vigorous rule the hot-headed and haughty Sultan began to lose grip over the far-flung empire. The Bhatīs also got a chance and as is revealed by the Jaisalmer Parsvanatha temple inscription, dated 1416 A. D. led by their brave prince Ghatasimha they reoccupied the fort by driving away the Muslim garrison.¹ Nainsi's version is, however different. According to him the Bhati prince Ghatasimha was favoured with the restoration of the fort by the Sultan for his services in a war.² This may have happened during the latter half of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq.

1 IHQ, Vol. VI, p. 150.

2 MNH, Vol. II, pp. 310-14.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Rajasthan was only part of the country in northern India which successfully resisted the might of Islam for centuries. From time to time the rulers of Rajasthan waged grim battles for the protection of their home land, its culture and religion, and although defeat was very often their lot, time and again they rose equal to the occasion and showed their mettle to the invading arms of the Delhi Sultans. The Arabs and the Ghaznavide Turks had already tasted centuries before the fire of the Rajput swords in Rajasthan without any fruitful results. However, Muhammad Ghori and in continuation the early Delhi Sultans (1206 A. D.-1290 A. D.) continuously fought for about a century for the subjugation of Rajasthan but they also failed to get any permanent hold on it. The territories of the Sultanate some times expanded far deep into the country but the Rajput clans of Rajasthan could not be subdued finally and forever.

There is no doubt that the early Delhi Sultans got some initial successes in parts of Rajasthan but that meant a fierce and grim battle each time. However, these repeated invasion of the Turks on the soil of Rajasthan could produce only few military outposts in places like Ajmer, Bayana, Nagor and their nearby places. But it is difficult to presume that the early Delhi Sultans maintained their hold on these places till the advent of the Khaljis in 1290 A. D. We have already seen that

Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266 A. D.-1287 A. D.) was not at all interested in the expansion of the Sultanate which must have provided the rulers of Rajasthan some relief. Consequently it appears that during the short and feeble reign of Kaiqubad (1287 A. D.-1290 A. D.) the Rajput clans of Rajasthan won back most of their lost territories and drove away the Muslim garrisons from there. Accordingly, we find that Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor, during the course of his 'Digvijay' reached right upto the gates of Ajmer¹ and captured it alongwith its surrounding region and won back his ancestral land. Thus on the eve of the establishment of the Khalji dynasty almost the whole of Rajasthan was enjoying either independent or semi-independent status.

But with the coming of the Khaljis into power the situation took a different shape. The Imperialist Khaljis, especially Alauddin, were determined to establish their authority in Rajasthan. For Alauddin, it was of course a part of his wider scheme of conquest and expansion. Consequently, there started an epic struggle between the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan and the Khalji Sultan which lasted for more than two decades. Alauddin Khalji first of all humbled the pride of Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor in 1301 A. D. and a couple of year later conquered Chittor as well. But Jalor, the tiny desert state of Rajasthan boldly resisted the might of the Sultan for more than a decade. However Kanhadadeva's epic struggle against the mightiest of the Delhi Sultans ended with his death in 1311 A. D. Alauddin Khalji's next target of attack was Jaisalmer which was easily conquered by him.

1 IA, Vol. VII, pp 64-65.

However, during the course of these wars the Khalji Sultans had to face grim resistance every where. We have already described the gallant resistance put up by Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor and his spirit was emulated by Ratan Singh and his Samantas of Mewar. But Kanhadadeva of Jalor surpassed them all. The success of the Khalji Sultans in Rajasthan cost them heavily in men and material and several thousands of Muslim soldiers lost their lives at the hands of their opponents. Nusrat Khan, the renowned general of Alauddin Khalji, lost his life during the siege of Ranthambhor.

It is indeed an irony that whereas each ruler of Rajasthan put up unprecedented resistance, they failed to unite themselves against their common enemy. Besides, they overlooked the wider interests of the nation and frittered away their energy in internacine wars. Had they combined against the common foe the picture might have been different and even Aluiddin might have thought over the invasion of Rajasthan a hundered and one times. However, this was not to be and Alauddin fulfilled his heart-felt desire for the time being. We agree with the observations of Dr. D. Sharma when he writes : "But the Rajputs, though passionately jealous of their own independence and conscious also of a common culture different from that of the Muslims, lacked somehow the capacity to combine against a common enemy. And then came a time when the military machine of the Delhi Sultanate, guided and controlled by Alauddin Khalji, whom we have to regard as one of the great geniuses of the period, whatever else our view of him might be finished off one Hindu Kingdom after the other".¹

The examples of the Rajput ladies of either Ranthambhor, Chittor or Jalor, who burnt themselves alive in fire in hundreds and thousands to make their husbands free to fight and die for the noble task of defending their country is superb in the annals of feminine gallantry. They vied with their menfolk in sharing the honour for personal courage and heroism in the interest of the nation and have left behind an unparalleled record written in letters of gold. Besides, the example of Hira Devi the wife of a Dahya Rajput, is no less glorious and inspiring. We learn from the 'Kanhadade Prabandha'² that when her husband Bika allured by the prospect of being made the ruler of Jalor after the fall of the Chahamanas, took the Muslims in by an unfrequented and difficult path which had been left undefended and unmanned, Hira Devi slew him at once and reported the matter to Kanhadadeva to meet the grim situation. In fact the Rajput history of this period is full of such examples of rare sacrifices on the part of the womenfolk of Rajasthan who were in no way inferior to their menfolk in laying down their lives for the noble task of defending the nation.

The neo Muslim leader Mahimra Shah (Muhammad Shah) along with brother and followers deserves a special mention here. The neo Muslims had revolted against Sultan Alauddin Khalji when they were deprived of their due share in the spoils of war in Gujrat and took shelter with Hammiradeva of Ranthambhor. Their loyalty to the ruler, who had afforded them protection against the Sultan, was superb. During their short stay at the chahamanas court they imbibed the nobility of the Rajput character and thereby won the confidence and affection of their protector.

² Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 18 -205

When Ranthambhor was attacked by the Sultan who demanded, among other things, the surrender of the rebels, the Chahamanu ruler turned down his demand point-blank. The war went on with unabated fury and for shortage of food grains the fall of the fort became imminent. At this stage Hammiradeva offered to send Mahima Shah and his men to any place of safety they desired. Confronted with a question like this, Mahima Shah went home, and like a typical Rajput of the time, killed all ladies and children in the family only to show that he was not afraid of life and that he was equally eager like the Rajputs to sink or swim with one who had given him shelter in the time of need. He, like a gallant soldier, fell fighting on the gates of the fort. While fatally wounded, though life still left in him, he, on Alauddin's demanding from him as to what he would do if he was cured of his wounds, replied with the courage and conviction of a true soldier that he would first kill the Sultan and then place Hammiradeva's son on the throne of Ranthambhor. However, by the orders of the Sultan, he was instantly trampled down to death, But even in death Mahima Shah remains immortal. This fellow-feeling and brotherly affection, generated towards each other among the Hindus and Muslims, if strengthened further, could have brought about high dividends in social and political fields and would have ultimately killed the very germs of hatred and hostility which was, and still is, the general feature of Indian society.

It is interesting to note that Alauddin Khalji's hold on Rajasthan did not last long and even within his life time some of the Rajput states of Rajasthan not only challenged the authority of the Delhi Sultan but also re-occupied most of their lost territories.

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CORRIGENDUM

Page no.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
III	28	Mahima Shan	Mahima Shah
41	13	Mandor	Mandor ^s
42	9	Bnt	But
45	8	of historical	historical
51	10	Alaudin's	Alauddin's
58	21	Yalchag	Yalchaq
78	26	Mahimasah	Mahimashah
101	Title	KHALAJI	KHALJI
112	14	Trikh-i-Firoz-Shahi	Tarikh-i- Firoz-Shahi
118	19	siwana	Siwana
121	11	Kanhadodevo's	Kanhadadeva's
132	20	Kamldin	Kamaldin
133	10	brothe	brother
140	8	mattle	mettle
140	12	How ever	However
140	21	invasion	invasions
141	3	Consequently	Consequently,
141	4	katqubad	Katqubad
141	21	yers	years
143	14	Slew	slew
143	20	(Muhammad Shah	(Muhammad Shah)
143	21	with brother	with his brother
143	26	chah-	Chah-